

English loanwords and code-switching on the Greek television: the effects and
the attitude of the public

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the linguistic phenomena of code-switching and English loanword use on Greek television and analyzes the attitudes of the Greek public toward this linguistic behaviour. With regard to the first part of the project, recorded data from the Greek television which include occurrences of English language use are presented and examined under a sociolinguistic perspective. This examination lends support to the existence of these language contact phenomena and explains the social forces that lead speakers to the use of English lexical items. As far as the second part is concerned, the primarily age-based statistical analysis of 400 questionnaires renders the attitudes of the public towards the use of English loanwords on television and by the media in general and on the possible influence these linguistic blends can cause to the Greek language and its future. The results reveal that older age participants are more negative toward loanword use and that the majority of all participants wish for such phenomena to be reduced.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the loving memory of my grandfather, Efstathios Outas who died at the age of 95 and who never understood what a PhD is and what this thesis was about, but who taught me that life becomes far more interesting and happy when you do what you love.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

For a number of centuries Greek together with Latin were the donor languages for the majority of Indo-European languages. Hundred words of Greek origin can be found nowadays in the English lexicon, words which despite the fact that have often undergone significant morphological and phonological alteration, they can still be recognized by a Greek speaker. If the importance of Ancient Greek and its richness of vocabulary caused such linguistic blends at a time when education was the only means of access to language culture, then it was certain that in the age of mass media, English as the language of international interaction and global prestige would provoke a similar, if not greater effect on other languages, and in the context of the present study, specifically on Greek.

1.1 Background to this Study

In the existing literature, code-switching and the use of loanwords are closely associated with communities which have two or more official languages. However, this study deals with language contact phenomena occurring in Greece, a primarily monolingual community in the sense of everyday language use. To be more specific, in Greece, the language used in the educational, governmental and public sector is Modern Greek which is spoken by the vast majority of the population excluding recently settled immigrants. According to the Ethnologue report (Lewis 2009) for Greece there are a number of other languages spoken by a few thousands, the majority of which however were acquired as a result of foreign military occupation in the beginning of the 20th century or of migration waves from former Greek regions or spoken by immigrants in Greece (Tatsioka 2008: 129, Lewis 2009 online). It is clear that these languages are spoken mostly by the elderly and taking into account that relevant studies appear to be outdated in some of the cases, the need for further research is imperative. Moreover, it is essential to point out that the languages in question in their majority are not close enough to be intelligible to Greek speakers, are not taught at any educational level and cannot be employed in everyday interactions with the rest 10.000.000 citizens (total population 11.100.000) (Tatsioka 2008:

129). In this sense Greece can be characterized as a primarily monolingual country¹. Nonetheless, foreign language learning is promoted in the Greek community by means of public and private educational programmes and as a result a significant percent of the Greek population has acquired English as a second language, especially the younger generations. Thus, the idea of this project was a response to the need to analyze the modern and common phenomenon of English word use and its main aim is to fill the gap in the literature of code-switching and loanwords.

1.2 Aims

The project has a twofold character. Firstly, it aims to present instances of code-switching and loanword use by the Greek media in order to establish the existence of these phenomena and to investigate the reasons for their occurrence from a sociolinguistic perspective. Secondly, it wishes to examine the attitudes of the public towards this linguistic behaviour. To achieve the first aim data from various recorded programmes broadcast by Greek television channels where such occurrences take place were collected. To achieve the second aim more than 400 questionnaires which examine the attitudes of the public were distributed, collected and processed.

Moreover, the study also aims to explore the unclear distinction between certain instances of code-switching and loanwords and propose a new and concrete framework of differentiation on the basis of the data collected. In this way, it firstly wishes to add to the existing literature with data regarding the influence of English upon the Greek language and also on a secondary basis to attempt a contribution to the theoretical realm of sociolinguistics.

¹ According to the Eurobarometer (2006) 89% of Greek respondents stated that they do not use any foreign language on an everyday basis whilst 19% of Greeks reported an ability to have a conversation in two languages.

1.3 Hypothesis

The hypothesis of the project in question concerns its second part, that is the analysis of the Greek public's attitudes toward the phenomena of code-switching and loanword use on television and in general. It is a hypothesis which claims that older age participants will hold stricter and more austere views toward the aforementioned linguistic habits than their younger co-participants. This theory is mostly based on the reasonable assumption that older age informants will have acquired English to a lesser extent and thus they will be more critical of its occurrence as a result of unintelligibility issues. Furthermore, this theory also has its foundation in the supposition that the attitudes of older age respondents will be more conservative toward language change and will aim at the preservation of the purity of Modern Greek.

1.4 Overview

This thesis will firstly examine the relevant literature in Chapter 2, whilst afterwards in Chapter 3 it will focus on the first part of this project, that is the sociolinguistic analysis of the data and the methods employed for that purpose. In Chapter 4 the methodology and the statistical analysis of questionnaire results will be presented and in Chapter 5 both analyses will be discussed and compared to similar studies. In the concluding Chapter 6 all the prominent findings will be summarized and their relation to the aims of this study and to possible future studies will be mentioned.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

After having discussed the main aims of this project, the existing literature on bilingualism and the phenomena of code-switching and loanword use should be examined. Overall, the present study falls into the realm of sociolinguistics which has been defined as ‘the study of language in relation to society’ (Hudson 1996: 1). Society is not only defined in terms of large-scale social groups, but also as consisting of individuals (Hudson 1996: 10) and it is this particular part of sociolinguistics this project wishes to focus on, as it is true that ‘no two speakers have the same language because no two speakers have the same experience with language’ (Hudson 1996: 11). However, due to the fact that this study examines the language contact phenomena of code-switching and loanword use which are both consequences of bilingualism, a brief presentation of bilingualism in all its forms is imperative.

2.1 Bilingualism

Bilingualism is an issue that can be viewed from a number of different perspectives. In the present paper the most prominent theories and views on the various domains of bilingualism will be presented. However, before proceeding to each one of these domains, it is important to examine the definitions provided for bilingualism.

A significant number of linguists have argued over the decades about the true definition of bilingualism and their source of debate primarily focuses on the level of language proficiency. There are two basic positions regarding bilingualism. The one claims that the majority of people are bilinguals, since they have the ability to use words or phrases of a language other than their mother-tongue without the need to be proficient at it (Edwards 2006: 7). Proponents of this view are Haugen and Diebold. For Haugen (1953) bilingualism is simply the ability of a speaker to produce meaningful utterances in the second language (1953: 7), whilst Diebold (1964) uses the term *incipient bilingualism* to describe the first stages of language contact. At the other side of the spectrum stands Bloomfield who describes bilingualism as the ‘native-like control of two languages’ (1933:

56). Myers-Scotton favours a compromise whereby bilingualism is regarded as ‘the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation’ (2006: 44). Weinreich does not specify the required degree of proficiency and defines bilingualism as ‘the practice of alternately using two languages’ (1953: 1). Hence, it is evident throughout the literature that the majority of scholars argue that a bilingual speaker may not be proficient in both languages, but he/she is still considered a bilingual.

At this point it is of paramount importance to stress the difference between bilingualism and multilingualism which may seem obvious, but has been interpreted differently by a number of linguistics and sociologists. *Bilingualism* refers to the use of two and no more than two languages whereas the term *multilingualism* is employed to describe the use of more than two languages.

2.1.1 Types of bilingualism

One of the fundamental distinctions between the different types of bilingualism is the one between *societal* and *individual bilingualism*. Societal bilingualism is the existence of two languages in a certain society, whilst individual bilingualism is the ability of a person to use two languages. Societal bilingualism is a phenomenon experienced in the majority of societies around the world; however it is essential to distinguish between the different degrees or types of societal bilingualism that communities may present. There are three forms of societal bilingualism according to Appel and Muysken (1987: 2). The first is the case of two languages which are spoken by two different monolingual social groups with only a limited number of bilinguals who help to their communication. This situation was reported at the early stages of colonization where the colonizers used their mother-tongue and the natives their own language. The second form of societal bilingualism occurs when all society members are bilinguals. This linguistic situation can be observed in African countries, India and certain regions of Canada. The last type of societal bilingualism is when ‘one group is monolingual and the other is bilingual’ (Appel and Muysken 1987: 2). It is usually due to sociological dominance that the one group is forced to be bilingual, while the other can only use its native language. Appel and Muysken (1987: 2) describe

the situation in Greenland where Greenlandic Inuit speakers have to learn Danish, but Danish speakers can stay monolingual due to reasons of sociological inequalities.

The term *individual bilingualism* is as problematic as bilingualism, since the debate between scholars on the appropriate level of proficiency of a bilingual person remains the same. Therefore, no efforts will be made to analyze and examine the notion of individual bilingualism.

Other types of bilingualism are *horizontal, vertical and diagonal bilingualism*. Horizontal bilingualism can be observed in the case of two languages which have the same official and cultural status, as the example of the Catalans, who attribute the same status to Catalan and Spanish. Vertical bilingualism expresses the same notion as *diglossia*. In other words it describes the situation where ‘a standard language, together with a distinct but related dialect, coexists within the same speaker’ (Beardsmore 1982: 5). Diagonal bilingualism is observed in the case in which a dialect or a non standard language is used together with a distinct standard language. Diagonal bilingualism according to Beardsmore can be found in German Belgium where both Low German and French are used (Beardsmore 1982: 5-6).

Another distinction is made regarding bilingualism on the basis of the way with which the second language was acquired. The two types of bilingualism which have been proposed to express the different paths of second language acquisition are *natural bilingualism or primary bilingualism* and *secondary bilingualism*. For Beardsmore a natural bilingual or primary bilingual is a person who has acquired both languages due to particular circumstances without any particular training and who in certain cases may not be able to provide a valid translation or interpretation between the two languages. On the other hand, secondary bilingualism occurs when the second language is learned by means of instruction (Beardsmore 1982: 8). It should be noted that the vast majority of the subjects of the present project belong to the latter category as they have acquired English via instruction which is the norm in Greece since English is taught as a foreign language in all levels of public and private education.

Furthermore, two other types of bilingualism will be mentioned: *receptive and productive bilingualism*. A receptive bilingual is a person who can understand the second language in its written and spoken form, but who lacks the ability of speaking or writing in the language in question (Beardsmore 1982: 13). It is noteworthy that a possible case of receptive bilingualism could be attributed to language resemblance; to put an example, native speakers of Spanish can understand written and spoken Italian, nevertheless they cannot produce forms of Italian themselves. In contrast to receptive bilingualism, productive bilingualism refers to the ability of the bilingual to be particularly skilful in all aspects of the second language. In other words a productive bilingual is able to demonstrate listening and reading comprehension and to produce oral and written forms of the language. The form of receptive bilingualism is far easier to acquire, since it does not demand the knowledge of linguistic patterns (i.e. patterns of speaking or writing), but limits itself to lexical acquisition. Beardsmore stresses the fact that receptive bilingualism can be maintained in the long run due to its limited demands and can be the result of productive bilingualism once productive abilities disappear (1982: 16).

Finally, another distinction has been made on the basis of the languages' representation in the bilingual brain. More specifically, Weinreich (1953: 9-11) has distinguished between three types of bilingualism, namely *coordinate*, *compound* and *subordinate bilingualism*. Coordinate bilingualism occurs when the two languages are acquired separately in different environments and when the words of each language are treated as separate signs. A possible example of coordinate bilingualism is an individual who has acquired Greek as his/her mother tongue and who later learned English at school. It was suggested that because the two languages were acquired in different environments, two distinct conceptual systems would evolve and that *χέρι* and *hand* would represent each own meaning (Romaine 1995: 78-9).

Contrary to coordinate bilingualism, compound bilingualism is observed when the two languages are acquired in the same context and when a single concept is represented by two different words. In the words of Weinreich is when a bilingual 'interprets signs as interlingual compounds' (1953:10). To present an example, a bilingual who has acquired

both Greek and English at home would recognize *χέρι* and *hand* as distinct words but representing the same concept.

The third type that Weinreich mentions is subordinate bilingualism which is a sub-category of coordinate bilingualism. In subordinate bilingualism the strong and dominant language provides the interpretation of the words of the weaker language. To further analyze that, the mental representation of words is perceived in the dominant language and the weaker language is simply attached to it reflecting the initial representations. Other researchers as Ervin and Osgood (1954) followed Weinreich's model, but reduced the categories of coordinate bilingualism into one and placed particular emphasis on lexicon, contrary to Weinreich who emphasized all the domains of language (Romaine 1995: 79-80).

Psycholinguists and neurologists were interested in testing the validity of Weinreich's theory about these distinctions in the bilingual brain. Lambert, Havelka and Crosby (1958) conducted a study examining groups of coordinate and compound bilinguals under the hypothesis that in the case of coordinate bilinguals the separate contexts of acquisition expand the functional separation of the two languages. The participants in the experiment were asked to place words expressing the same meaning (e.g. 'maison' - 'house') on a scale depending on the nature of the connotations the words provoked (good vs. bad, pleasant vs. unpleasant). Researchers expected that compound bilinguals would attribute the same characteristics to the words of both languages. Despite their predictions, the results indicated that there was no difference in the way compound and coordinate bilinguals cognitively classified words. However, one year later Lambert and Fillenbaum (1959) produced results from the comparison of compound and coordinate bilingualists who suffered from aphasia. These results revealed that coordinate bilinguals experienced localized damages to either languages whilst compound bilinguals showed more general damages in both languages. This evidence provided support to the theory that coordinate and compound bilingualism is represented and organized differently in the human brain (Romaine 1995:80-1).

2.2 The Sociology of Bilingualism

Bilingualism and multilingualism are two phenomena of high frequency in today's world. However, the linguistic choices that we make are influenced by certain social factors and affect our social environment as well. In this subchapter this strong and extremely interesting relation between language and society and the various forms it can take will be presented.

2.2.1 The choice of a language

Our societies are formed by a number of different domains which require the appropriate respect and social behaviour in terms of gestures, clothing and of course of language use. As we will not be allowed to enter a monastery in our bathing suit in Greece, in the same way we cannot or we may not use certain linguistic varieties at particular social domains either because this linguistic behaviour is imposed to us by law or society or because we feel better expressing ourselves in another language in that situation. However, domains do not only consist of the actual place at which the interaction occurs, but also of the participants, the topic and the function of the interaction (Holmes 2001: 8). We may use different linguistic varieties to show solidarity, social distance, superior or inferior status, to mark the formality or informality of the conversation in terms of topic or setting, to express our feelings or simply to express facts (Holmes 2001: 8-9).

In societies where bilingualism is legally established, language choice can be specified for certain domains. For example the official language is used in public institutions, education or for court procedures. The unofficial language, together with the official in some cases is employed in friends and family meetings. Other times the society itself imposes a language choice and bilingualism even if it seems unnatural, as in the case of the pre-revolution Russia where French was considered the language of culture and the elite. Nevertheless, the language choice cannot always be predicted, unless we are familiar with the social conventions and rules that govern each linguistic community.

Since the prediction of language choice is not always accurate, researchers have conducted their own experiments in order to analyze the relation between language and domains. Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971) conducted a study in the Puerto Rican community of New York and drew the conclusion that there are five different domains in which either English or Spanish was used to a greater extent. These five domains were ‘family, friendship, religion, employment and education’ (Romaine 1995:30). The results of the study reveal that Spanish was most likely to be used in the family and friendship domain, followed by the others. Other researchers, as Mackey (1968: 565) have related bilingualism to specific behaviour like note taking, diary writing, cursing, praying and dreaming. Fantini (1985) related bilingualism to private communication and thinking aloud after observing his son who used Spanish in both situations, which was also used at home.

2.3 Attitudes Towards Languages and Bilingualism

One of the main aims of this study is to examine the attitudes of the Greek public towards the use of English and in that sense towards a form of bilingualism. Although, no one can deny the presence of bilingualism as a linguistic phenomenon in the world, nonetheless the attitudes expressed towards it are not only positive, but negative as well. Some communities share the view that there is no need for bilingual speakers because bilingualism can lead to language dominance and cases of language shift or language death. In other societies bilingualism is appreciated and considered an indication of a person’s ethnic identity. It has to be pointed out that these attitudes are not associated with the ability of bilingualism, but with the actual use of the two languages either separately in different contexts and domains or interchangeably within the same context and within the same phrase or sentence (code-switching).

2.3.1 What is an attitude?

However, before providing the analysis of the different attitudes towards bilingualism and its use, the most prominent definitions of the term ‘attitude’ will be provided. Baker describes attitude as a ‘hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence

of the human behavior' (1992: 10). Fishbein and Ajzen claim that attitudes are predispositions which affect human behaviour, they are learned through past experience (1975: 8-10) and are determined by beliefs (1980: 62). More specifically, they argue that individuals form beliefs about a certain object, concept, behaviour, person or institution by relating it to its main characteristics and automatically develop an attitude by evaluating these features as positive or negative (1980: 63). Beliefs are formed through a person's life experiences and they can be altered by time or even be forgotten. Nevertheless, it is the most salient beliefs which determine the attitude of a person toward the object of evaluation (1980: 64). Moreover, according to the majority of theorists and academics attitude can be categorized into three parts: the cognitive, the affective and the action or conative part (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975: 340, Fasold, 1984: 148, Baker 1992:12-13 and Bradac, Cargile & Hallett 2001: 147). The cognitive part refers to the beliefs and thoughts that exist towards the attitude object. The affective part is related to the feelings that the object of evaluation generates to the individual. In many cases however, the cognitive and the affective parts of attitude are opposed, a fact which indicates that a positive attitude towards a subject may hide negative feelings and vice versa. Finally, there is the action part which is the actual plan of behaviour regarding the object of attitude.

Furthermore, the majority of the most prominent researchers point out that attitude and behaviour are not always strongly related as was assumed in the past. Baker (1992) discriminates between behaviour and attitude and argues that external behaviour may function as an accurate attitude indicator in some cases, but not in all. People may intentionally or unintentionally demonstrate behaviours which do not express their true beliefs and feelings towards the attitude object (Baker 1992: 16). Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) hold the same view and claim that 'although a person's attitude toward an object should be related to the totality of his behaviors with respect to the object, it is not necessarily related to any given behavior' (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975: 335). Thus, it is frequently helpful to elicit attitudes directly instead of relying on behaviour alone. Similarly, LaPiere argues that questions aiming at eliciting attitudes can only obtain symbolic responses to symbolic situations and do not necessarily correlate with actual actions (LaPiere 1967: 26). Such an inconsistency between two cognitive elements, that is

beliefs, attitudes and behaviours has been defined as *dissonance* by Festinger (1957: 13) who states that this relation will generate feelings of discomfort to the person who will strive to achieve consistency. Moreover, Festinger claims that the degree of dissonance between two elements is determined by the significance of these particular elements to the individual and that the way to reduce inconsistency is by changing the element, reducing its importance or introducing a new element in the relation. Campbell (1963) on the other hand argues that verbal responses of an attitude and overt behaviour although may be inconsistent, they can still be indicators of a common underlying predisposition. Hence, he claims that in many studies a contradiction between attitude and behaviour does not signify a lack of relation between the two elements, but is a *pseudo-inconsistency* which derives from different indicators of an attitude. Nevertheless, he too states that ‘in no case should a single overt behaviour be regarded as a criterion of a disposition’ (Campbell 1963: 162).

2.3.2 Factors that influence language attitudes

There are many different characteristics of language varieties which influence the way they are perceived by the speech community; however, two are the most significant factors: standardization and vitality. A linguistic variety is considered standardized when it has been accepted and defined as the correct through a set of norms. But how does a linguistic variety become standardized? Firstly, dictionaries and grammars set the norms and thereafter the linguistic variety becomes accepted by the wider community through its use by the social elite and it is strengthened through its use in educational and governmental institutions and the media (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982: 3). Nonetheless, not all languages have a standard variety and in the case of bilingualism, the use of a single language may be considered as the norm. The other critical determinant for language attitudes is vitality. Vitality is expressed by the number and significance of functions a linguistic variety serves a number of individuals. In other words it is related to its symbolic function. Other attributes of vitality are its ‘status, demographic strength and institutional support’ (Ryan et al. 1982: 4). Status is reflected by the social, political and financial position of the speakers of the linguistic variety. The demographic strength refers to the number of people who are speakers of the given variety and their distribution, as well as to

the number of people who are speakers of this variety whilst they belong to a different speech community. Finally, institutional support refers to the use of the linguistic variety in the governmental sector as the official language, in all educational levels, in the mass media and organizations.

For Bradac, Cargile & Hallett language attitudes depend on three sources: ‘cultural factors, functional biases and biology’ (2001: 147). Dialects and languages are represented by different cultural values. Some are viewed as favourable and acquire high status, others are stigmatized. This is strongly related to the vitality issues discussed earlier by Ryan et al., as standard languages and dialects are commonly perceived as more vital than those which are non-standard. In terms of functional biases, Bradac et al. argue that languages serve certain functions which immediately affect the speaker’s or hearer’s attitudes towards them. For example, languages serving an explanatory function are highly appreciated as they facilitate communication between speakers by simplifying and explaining complex social relations (Tajfel 1981). Finally, with regard to the biological factor, Bradac et al. state that human beings have the innate capacity of forming an attitude on the basis of a speaker’s vocal features such as pitch and loudness, with high-pitched voices being perceived as less powerful than deep-pitched voices (2001: 147). However, this variation in pitch depends on the vocal chords of the speakers and not particularly on the phonological patterns of each language. Hence, a collective attitude toward a language cannot be formed on this foundation.

2.3.3 Attitudes toward bilingualism

Turning now to attitudes towards bilingualism, it is essential to point out that a number of different negative perspectives were expressed in the first half of the 20th century towards bilingualism in relation to brain development and mental abilities, but also regarding identity and sociopolitical issues. Weinreich (1953), a pioneering figure in the field of linguistics and more specifically of bilingualism, in his book *Languages in Contact* presents various views which associated bilingualism with mental retardation. Saer (1924) claims that rural bilingual children of Wales had difficulty in separating Welsh from

English, whereas Jamieson and Sandiford (1928) discovered that monolingual children demonstrated higher levels of intelligence than bilingual children (Weinreich 1953: 115-6). Jones and Stewart (1951) found that monolinguals performed better on both verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests (Weinreich 1953: 116). At other side of the spectrum stand Peal and Lambert (1962) who reached the exact opposite conclusions through their findings. Lambert, later declared that ‘there is a definite cognitive advantage for bilingual children in the domain of cognitive flexibility’ (Lambert 1977:30).

In addition to that, Weinreich reports various attitudes on the effects of bilingualism on character formation. It is important to note that the majority of these views are conservative and demonstrate lack of knowledge, adequate research as well as an exaggerated sense of purism. To further analyze that and in order to support the validation of this argument some of these attitudes will be provided. According to the German scholar Henss (1931) bilingualism is evil because as he points out there is a correlation between stuttering, left-handiness and bilingualism. Moreover, Müller (1934) argues that the bilingual population of Upper Silesia demonstrated inferior levels in feeling and thinking, due of course to their bilingual linguistic competence.

Hoffman (1991) on the other hand, expresses the well-stated view that all the prejudices and the negative attitudes towards bilingualism are associated with the minorities that represent bilingualism. If a minority is marginalized because of its social and economic status, then the attitudes attributed to the members of this community are also attributed to its linguistic repertoire and to their bilingualism, or in other instances bilingualism functions as a symbol of their marginalized nature. This correlation between linguistic identity and social status provokes feelings of inferiority and seclusion to the members of these minorities which lead them to stop using the language of the minority group and become monolingual (Hoffman 1991: 139). In other cases bilingualism is regarded suspiciously and as the medium for forces of conspiracy and treason. Monolinguals who fail to understand the conversations amongst bilinguals may perceive the unknown language as a code for communicating suspicious concepts and ideas (Hoffman 1991: 139). It should be stressed that the situations described so far mostly concern cases where the

second language has no particular status in society and do not relate to cases where bilingualism is constituted and enforced by the laws of the state.

A point of major importance that should be mentioned is that attitudes towards bilingualism are also attitudes towards the languages in question and their social status and prestige. If bilingualism is approved and enforced by the policies of the government, then it is perceived as the norm. In cases where bilingualism concerns an official and unofficial language (usually a minority language), bilingualism is frequently frowned upon and only the official language is admired and perceived as 'a model of good speech' (Holmes 2001: 345).

Myers-Scotton stresses the socio-economic reasons that influence language attitudes. Linguistic identity is closely related to national identity and can function 'as the most visible symbol of the group' (2006: 111). However, apart from the emotional value that a language carries for the relevant national group, it is also endowed with an instrumental value. The instrumental value of each language is apparent from the socio-economic opportunities it provides its speakers with (Myers-Scotton 2006: 111-2). In other words, if the use of a particular language offers an infinite number of opportunities for social and economic development, it is quite obvious that it will be regarded positively. To take an example, after the technological, scientific and economic achievements which have taken place in the U.S, English has been considered the language of wealth and success (Myers-Scotton 2006: 212). Thus, the acquisition of English as a second language has been viewed as a prevailing need and bilingualism in X mother tongue and English reflects positive connotations to the modern world.

Nevertheless, a significant change has been reported to the way people and scholars viewed bilingualism and its aspects in the 1950's and to the way they perceive it today. An important cause for this shift of opinions was the vast post-war immigration wave which led to the declaration of the social and linguistic rights of minorities and which was the threshold of the globalization era. With the development of antiracist communities and with the effects of intermarriage, minority languages and bilingualism were treated with a

new respect and feelings of linguistic pride and independence were born in the minds and the hearts of bilinguals (Hoffman 1991: 140). Bilingualism nowadays is still viewed with suspicion and skepticism, nevertheless, it is also perceived as a symbol of a proud ethnic identity and as a valuable ability which if not native takes a significant amount of time and efforts in order to be acquired.

2.4 Consequences of Bilingualism: Language Maintenance, Shift and Death

When social changes lead to the formation of a bilingual community, bilingualism can produce the following results: language maintenance, language shift and gradually language death. Although these phenomena mostly concern purely bilingual communities where two languages have acquired a formal status by the government, however their observation is significant to the present project as they can play an important role in the formation of conscious or subconscious attitudes towards the use of a non indigenous language.

In the case of language maintenance speakers manage to retain and keep their native language and acquire the second language as well. We can observe examples of language maintenance in the French-speaking Canada and in Catalonia. Language maintenance can be better achieved when the language in question is used as a medium of education and in the administrative sector. In situations where this is not possible, it is the ethnic and national significance that the language carries, the number of its speakers and the strong ties to the home country which can lead to its maintenance (Hoffman 1991: 185-6, Romaine 1995: 43).

When a society fails to maintain its language and shifts to the use of another language, we are referring to the case of language shift. Language shift can be the outcome of various factors, which can be of political, economic and social nature. To take an example, immigrants in the effort to be fully assimilated in their new country may adopt the dominant language. This decision may be conscious or not, because immigrants in many cases do not realize the threat that their native language faces in the new environment.

Colonization can be another cause for language shift, where the colonizers enforce the use of their language to the aboriginal population. An additional cause for language shift is the language's status and the attitudes towards it. Languages which are globally or socially appreciated are more likely to be maintained. Finally, education is an essential factor in language shift, and if the minority language is not included in any part of education, then language shift is more than certain (Hoffman 1991:186-191, Holmes 2001: 52-6).

However, language shift does not necessarily lead to language death. Many societies have managed to maintain their minority languages for centuries even though they are mostly using another language. Unfortunately, in certain cases language shift results to language death which becomes a reality when there is no living speaker of the language. When Ned Maddrell died in 1974, Manx, the language of the Isle of Man, died with him. In the same way Cornish died when Dolly Pentreath, its last speaker, died in 1777. Language death can be the result of the linguistic behaviour of a specific group through the passage of time or it can be the result of the extermination of the language's speakers. The death of Cornish can be classified to the first category, whilst the death of at least 150 native Australian languages is attributed to the massacre of the indigenous population by British colonizers (Holmes 2001: 52-6).

As was mentioned earlier language shift is not always a conscious choice and societies fail to realize the possible threat until they experience it to the bone. A number of languages today are considered 'endangered species' such as Scottish and Irish Gaelic, as well as some aboriginal languages of Australia and New Zealand. Governments have taken positive steps and educational measures in order to revive these languages. Some recent examples of language revival are the cases of Welsh and Hebrew. Welsh did not die, but had declined to such an extent that its death appeared inevitable. However, today Welsh is gaining ground due to the Welsh media programmes and the use of Welsh as a medium of instruction in education together with English. The revival of Hebrew was fairly different, since Hebrew was actually a dead language for more than 1700 years which existed only in religious documents. Albeit dead for centuries, Hebrew was revived by the strong passion of its supporters and its national importance (Holmes 2001: 65-7).

2.5 Borrowings or Loanwords

Over the last decades linguists have provided various definitions for borrowing or loanwords. However, they all seem to agree that they are words taken from one language and used by another (Haugen 1950, Heath 2001, Myers-Scotton 2006, Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Nevertheless, a number of scholars have distinguished between borrowings and loanwords and some of them have suggested that loanwords are only a subcategory of borrowing, like Haugen who describes borrowing as ‘the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another’ (Haugen 1950: 212) and perceives loanwords as a kind of borrowing together with *loan translations* and *semantic loans*. Moreover, Heath proposes a morphological difference between the two terms and claims that it is a stem and not a complete lexical element that constitutes a borrowing, or that a borrowing could even be a phrase, whereas loanwords are always single words (Heath 2001: 432). On the other hand Myers-Scotton opposes such distinctions and deems that loanwords and borrowings essentially reflect the same linguistic phenomenon, where words taken from one language, which is the donor language, are used by another language which acts as the recipient language. For the purpose of this study the terms proposed by Myers-Scotton, namely *donor* and *recipient language* will be employed (2006: 211).

Items borrowed most commonly belong to the category of nouns as shown by the studies of Whitney (1881) who developed a scale representing the freedom with which each part of speech can be borrowed, of Haugen on American Norwegian (1950: 224), of Poplack, Sankoff and Miller on the contact between English and French in francophone Canada (1988: 62) and of Treffers-Daller on French loanwords employed in Brussels Dutch and Alsatian (1999). Myers-Scotton attributes the reasons for the apparent preference to nouns to their function as receivers of thematic roles and not assigners, a function that contributes to diminishing the disruption degree of the predicate-argument structure than any other content morpheme which assigns thematic roles (2002: 240). Other linguistics have argued that nouns demonstrate a greater propensity to be borrowed because they are less integrated into the structure of the recipient language and they carry strong lexical content as opposed

to other parts of speech (Whitney 1881, Haugen 1950, Muysken 1984, Poplack et al. 1988). Apart from nouns, most of other lexical categories are also borrowed including verbs, adjectives, prepositions, adverbs and interjections (Haugen 1950: 224, Poplack et al. 1988: 64, Apostolou-Panara 1991: 48).

As regards borrowing in the Greek language, Apostolou-Panara (1991) lends supports to the theory suggesting that nouns tend to be borrowed more frequently than other lexical categories in Modern Greek and argues that borrowed items are integrated into the phonological patterns of the Greek language, whilst they partly assimilate into its morphological model. The reason for the first is that the phonemic system of Modern Greek lacks 15 phonemes in comparison with Standard English. Moreover, it renders different allophonic representations as well as a different distribution of consonant phonemes as Modern Greek employs more open syllables as opposed to English in which closed syllables are mostly used (1991: 48). With regard to morphological assimilation, recent loanwords retain their morphemic features whereas older borrowed items have acquired the morphology of Modern Greek. Another issue of paramount importance concerning loanword insertion into the Greek language is the issue of gender. Modern Greek employs three genders, namely feminine, masculine and neuter. Thus, ‘when a noun enters Modern Greek, it is automatically assigned a gender’ (Apostolou-Panara 1991: 50). This procedure is complicated regarding both animate and inanimate entities as Modern Greek takes into consideration grammatical gender rather than natural gender, with the latter not being applicable to inanimate entities of course. According to Apostolou-Panara the factor that contributes to the assignment of gender is the loanword’s degree of integration. In the case of morphological integration, loanwords representing inanimate entities or objects are assigned to all three genders, while those denoting animate entities are assigned either to the feminine or masculine gender. However, when a borrowing has only been phonologically assimilated into Greek, then it is assigned either the neuter or feminine gender on the basis of existing structural and lexical features (1991: 50). Nevertheless, when the loanword already has an exact equivalent in the Greek language, then it is usually assigned the gender that its equivalent carries, although as far as English loanwords are concerned, especially recent ones, the current project’s recorded data

demonstrate that they are assigned the neuter gender in many cases (*τα tips* is neuter whilst its Greek equivalent is of feminine gender *οι συμβουλές*, that is tips, advice).

Additionally, as far as loanwords belonging to the lexical category of verbs are concerned, they are in their totality morphologically assimilated into Modern Greek, usually by the insertion of the derivational suffix */-aro/* (*άρω*) and/or by the periphrasis comprising by the verb *kano* (*κάνω*) (to do) and a noun or gerund that represents the lexical notion of the verb as in *kano flirt* (*κάνω φλέπτ*) signifying the verb ‘to flirt’ (Apostolou-Panara 1991: 50).

Furthermore, regarding non-language specific loanwords, Hudson points out that modern day borrowings should not be associated with what he refers to as historical borrowings, that is words that have been fully integrated in a language’s own lexicon and are viewed as the language’s own words. For example, a large part of the English vocabulary consists of borrowings from other languages such as Latin, Greek and French. However, nowadays the majority of native English speakers ignore the origins of these foreign items and treat them as actual English words (1996: 56). Additionally, he states that it is an extremely difficult task to attempt to draw a line between words that are actual borrowings and words that have been assimilated into the recipient language, as some borrowings present only partial assimilation. Taking the example of the use of the French word *restaurant* in English, it has lost its uvular */r/* and conformed to the phonology of the English language system (Hudson 1996: 56-58). At this point it should be noted that phonological assimilation has taken place in the majority, if not in all English borrowed words in Modern Greek as the Greek phonological system is fairly different from the English one.

Nevertheless, irrespectively of the lexical type to which each borrowing belongs or their degree of integration, borrowings can be divided into two categories according to Myers-Scotton (2006), namely cultural and core borrowings. Cultural borrowings consist of words which express concepts that do not exist in the recipient language’s lexicon. These are usually lexical elements related to technology and science or words that describe items of clothing or food which are unknown to the recipient culture. Sometimes cultural borrowings constitute new words for the donor language as well. The example presented

by Myers-Scotton is that of computer-related terminology which was introduced to the world a few decades ago and was new even to English native speakers. On the other hand, core borrowings are not new words, but words that already have a lexical equivalent in the recipient language thus there is no obvious reason for their use and existence (2006:212-7). For this reason, the present project focuses mostly on English core borrowings into Modern Greek.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that apart from loanwords or borrowings, language contact has generated another language phenomenon, namely *loan translations* or *calques*. These words or phrases are translations of existing words in other language which follow the donor language's semantic and syntactic patterns but not its phonological rules (Hudson 1996: 58). Such examples constitute the English phrase *I've told him I don't know how many times* which actually a loan translation of the French *Je le lui ai dit je ne sais pas combien de fois* (Bloomfield 1933: 457).

Tuning now to borrowings' association with interference, it is true that some linguists have related the two notions, but others have favoured a distinction between the two terms. Weinreich (1953) was one of the proponents of this distinction. He described interference as 'the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language...' (1953:1). He claims that interference is a much more complicated term than borrowing, with the latter referring basically to the act of the element transfer (1953:1). Mackey (1968) also stands in favour of this distinction and states that interference is an individual phenomenon which is only likely to happen, whereas borrowing is of systematic and collective nature. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) on the other hand, have strongly related borrowing to interference and have defined borrowing as 'the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of incorporated features' (1988:37).

Moreover, interference was not always preferred as a term to show the influence of one language on the other because of its negative connotations and its relation to language shift

and language death. Clyne (1967) used the term *transference* to describe this notion which according to him refers to the adoption of elements belonging to another language. Transference was favoured as a term by researchers investigating second language acquisition. Another alternative term for interference was proposed by Kellerman and Sharwood-Smith (1986), which did not provoke any negative associations and which was used as a general term for any kind of influence including the deliberate avoidance of transfer. This term was *cross-linguistic influence*.

2.5.1 Reasons for the use of loanwords

According to Hudson each language carries a ‘distinctive symbolic value’ for the person who uses it, which is also true, perhaps to a smaller degree for the people who rarely use a particular language which they may have not even acquired (Hudson 1996: 55). Individuals may decide to use a foreign item because they wish to pretend they are native speakers of that particular language and in that way to obtain all the social elements that characterize the speakers of this language. Alternatively, they can opt for foreign words because there is no exact equivalent word in their own language. In this case the association of the word with a specific country or region is not purposeful, as it is the only option (Hudson 1996: 55-56). Both cases are evident in the data presented in Chapter 3 that follows.

Due to the focus of the present study, only the reasons that lead to the use of words belonging to English will be discussed. English loanwords started to appear in a plethora of languages around the world, if not in all, shortly after the technological, economic, and scientific achievements that took place in the U.S. According to Myers-Scotton, speakers tend to borrow words from a prestigious and attractive language. Individuals from other linguistic communities borrowed English words not only to refer to the achievements of the U.S., but also because due to them, English was perceived as the language of success, modernity and power (Myers-Scotton 2006: 212). Therefore, the purpose of loanword use is not only to borrow the words, but also the connotations that they carry. Furthermore, as far as core borrowings are concerned, their use is not solely due to the prestige of the donor

language, but to its cultural dominance as well (Myers-Scotton 2006: 216). Finally, it should be stated that loanwords are often used unconsciously, which implies that there may be no deliberate intention behind their selection.

Turning now to the media world, the use of English in the national media was again a result of the Anglo-American dominance in the fields of technology, science and entertainment (Androutsopoulos 2007: 208, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). According to Androutsopoulos, only a limited number of studies were conducted on bilingualism in the media, as media discourse was perceived to be ‘artificial’ and ‘inauthentic’ due to its careful planning and editing in most of its occurrences, such as in films and advertising (2007: 209). At this point it should be noted that the data of this project are considered ‘natural’ as they derive from live shows and programmes and do not constitute part of a predefined scenario. Moreover, Androutsopoulos distinguishes between public, private commercial and private non-commercial media on the basis of the purposes they serve. Public media aim to entertain, inform and educate the audience who they perceive as citizens of the country/nation. Private commercial media on the other hand, view their audience as consumers and thus place less emphasis on informing and educating and more on the promotion of their products. Private non-commercial media are similar to public media in the way they perceive the audience (that is as citizens and not as consumers), but they differ in that they engage the audience in active participation (Androutsopoulos 2007: 211-212). Androutsopoulos claims that it is on the basis of this differentiation that English use and bilingualism occur in the media. Media select the code they will employ depending on the social identities they want to create or the social identities they share with the audience (Coupland 2001). *Minimal bilingualism*² is quite frequent in cases where the audience is not particularly competent in English as in the case of the Greek audience, while dense code-switching is evident in communities where societal bilingualism is flourishing (Androutsopoulos 2007: 213-214). Independently of the type of bilingualism, the use of English by the media rejects the view that English is only ‘for intercultural communication and local languages for local identities’ (Pennycook 2003: 83). For this

² Wei (2000:6) defines *minimal bilingual* as someone who only knows a few words and phrases in the second language.

reason Androutsopoulos suggests that these identities should be called ‘glocal’ as a combination of their local and global elements (2007: 223).

Regarding the use of English loanwords in Greek society, Oikonomidis (2003) provides evidence of the influence of the Greek language by English and reports that English became a prestigious language to the eyes of Greeks after Second World War, whilst until then French was considered the language of the educated as well as of diplomacy and fashion (2003: 55). With regard to the intrusion of English in the Greek media world, Oikonomidis argues that the Greek media employ English lexical items on a frequent basis, whilst their names as well as the titles of Greek magazines are mostly in English. Moreover, he stresses the fact that English-speaking films released in Greek cinemas, together with those broadcast on television are only subtitled and not dubbed, thus the contact with the English language through television is constant and intense. As far as magazines are concerned Greek readers could recognize with ease a plethora of English items written in Roman characters, most of which are unnecessary in relation to the context and are solely used as a means of self-promotion on behalf of the author (2003: 56). A similar need for speakers to appear linguistically educated and part of elite is demonstrated by the data presented in Chapter 3. Additionally, Oikonomidis comments on the use of English in Greek publications without the provision of a Greek translation which generates feelings of inferiority to the Greek speaker who does not have adequate knowledge of the English language (2003: 57). Such behaviour indicates the erroneous act of the author/speaker to assume the reader’s/viewer’s knowledge of English in a country where English has no official status, hence its acquisition by the totality of the population should not be taken for granted. It is noteworthy that almost half of the collected TV data for the purpose of the project include use of English words or phrases not followed by a translation.

Anastasiadi-Simeonidi (2007), a Greek academic, mentions that the use of foreign lexical items has been associated with issues of language death and linguistic enslavement; However, she points out the example of English which although consists of a significant number of borrowings from languages as Latin, French and Greek has managed to maintain

its identity. Although she notes that borrowings from the French and the English language do not count for more than 7% of the general Greek lexicon, and that borrowing is a natural phenomenon which occurs in all languages and should not be viewed as a disease; nevertheless she stresses the need to reduce the number of borrowings in an effort to prevent negative consequences (1996: 99-102, 2007: 68). To this purpose she suggests the formation of terminology committees which will propose a Greek equivalent word for each appeared core borrowing, the intensification of Modern Greek instruction in all levels of education and the linguistic development of native speakers of Modern Greek, especially those who have the right to act on language such as journalists (1996: 95-102).

Oikonomidis attributes the reasons for the presence of English in Greek society which is manifested on a constant basis through the mass media to five factors. In particular, he argues that English is the language of the international business field; it is strongly associated with prestige and high status, it allows freedom of expression to advertisers who employ it in order to avoid Greek taboo or offensive words, it is mainly used in all domains in order to attract and serve tourists and finally as the U.S has become a global power, English is used as a means of maintaining direct personal contact between the two societies and its people (2003: 58-61).

Moreover, Anastasiadi-Simeonidi argues that Greek language has borrowed lexical units from other languages due to the lack of lexicon regarding technology and science (words such as 'computer'), due to the appearance of a dominant cultural model (lexical units such as 'rock') and finally in order to avoid social embarrassment or for reasons of politeness (the use of taboo words) in all domains and not particularly advertisement as Oikonomidis has stressed (Anastasiadi-Simeonidi 1996:95-102).

With regard to the attitudes of Greeks towards English occurrence Anastasiadi-Simeonidi states that it is the English borrowings to the Greek language which are mostly viewed in an unfavourable way because they have not been integrated yet into the recipient language and thus they act as constant reminders of their foreign origin in contrast to older loanwords

which have acquired the morphological and phonological features of the Greek language (2007: 67).

Finally, Babiniotis claims that word borrowing is neither diminishing or fatal as long as it occurs to a limited extent so that the recipient language can preserve its basic structure and as long as it serves tangible communicative needs and not fictitious ones such as loanword use for reasons of self-promotion, xenomania³ or linguistic prestige which serve other purposes (2001: 64).

2.6 Code-switching

Two are the key phenomena to this study: code-switching and loanwords. Code-switching is a significant language contact phenomenon which has gained the interest of various linguists over the last century. All these scholars have explored code-switching under a number of different perspectives. Some have focused on the linguistic aspects of code-switching and attempted to analyze the morphosyntactic patterns that govern it. To this area also fall studies examining the phonological issues that arise in the presence of a switch in code. Moreover, certain researchers have explored the issue from a psycholinguistic perspective in order to explain the complicated relation between the human brain and the linguistic ability. Finally, others have been interested in the sociolinguistic aspect of code-switching and in its influence by and upon society. It is this very last perspective that will be the centre of attention in the present paper.

However, before attempting an analysis on the main reasons that lead to code-switching and the social factors that affect it, it is particularly important to provide some of its most prominent definitions. Jakobson was the first who introduced the term in the field of linguistics when he referred to the linguistic behaviour of ‘switching codes’ (Jakobson, Fant & Halle 1952). Furthermore, Gumperz characterized code-switching as ‘the

³ A mania for, or an inordinate attachment to, foreign customs, institutions, manners, fashions, etc. (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/xenomania>)

juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (1982: 59). Myers-Scotton describes code-switching as the use of 'surface-level words' belonging to two languages (2006: 234). Nevertheless, the definition that will be employed in this study is that of Clyne who defines code-switching as 'the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences' (1987: 740). However, it is essential to note at this point that code-switching does not only refer to the use of two different languages, but also to the use of two distinct varieties of the same language as Romaine correctly points out (1995: 121).

However, code-switching does not always occur in the same form, but according to Poplack (1980) consists of different types, namely *tag-switching*, *inter-sentential* and *intra-sentential code-switching*. Tag-switching refers to the insertion of a tag in one language in utterance that is completely in the other language, e.g. *you know, I mean, right?* This type of switching does not cause any problems to the syntactic structure of the utterance, due to the fact that it can be placed in many different parts of it. Inter-sentential switching is the switch that occurs between sentence boundaries, in other words, the one sentence is in one language and the other in a different one. This type of switching is usually attempted by fairly proficient speakers of both languages, since it involves high levels of syntactic complexity and requires strict conformity to language rules. Lastly, intra-sentential switching refers to the switch taking place within the same clause or sentence which consequently contains linguistic items belonging to the two languages. This is the most difficult type of switching in terms of morphosyntactic structure, because it involves core structural elements from both languages and is performed only by extremely fluent and capable bilinguals (Romaine 1995: 123). Nevertheless, it should be stated that in cases where there is a L2 (second language) single-word insertion in an otherwise L1 (first language) utterance and when the syntactic frames of the two languages do not differ significantly, then intra-sentential switching can also be performed by non-proficient or fluent speakers. Finally, due to the unpredictable and spontaneous nature of code-switching as part of natural speech, a clear distinction between inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching is problematic in a number of occurrences.

Myers-Scotton has made a different kind of distinction between two types of code-switching: *classic* and *composite*. Classic code-switching contains items of two languages or linguistic varieties of the same language within the same clause, however only one language or linguistic variety governs the morphosyntactic rules of the utterance. This indicates that the bilingual speaker is at least fluent in one of the languages. Nevertheless, in some cases speakers are proficient enough in L2 in order to insert free morphemes of it into an otherwise entirely L1 ruled utterance or they have the capacity to produce lexical islands in L2 (Myers-Scotton 2002: 105).

Turning now to composite code-switching, it is characterized by the fact that both languages contributed to the morphosyntactic frame of the utterance, although one language is that which provides the basic rules that affect the structure of the utterance and 'the other language contributes some of the abstract structure underlying surface forms in the clause' (Myers-Scotton 2006:242). This is due to the fact that the speaker has limited access to the syntax and morphology of the language that is the basis for the structure of the utterance which is usual in cases of language shift or language attrition (Myers-Scotton 2002: 105).

2.6.1 Social aspects and reasons for code-switching

Code-switching occurs due to a number of different social factors. Holmes argues that code-switching is influenced by the topic of the interaction, the addressee and the situation in which the interaction takes place (2001: 34-44). Usually individuals choose to switch into a language that is comprehensible to their addressee as Hudson points out, however as we will observe later in this study, this is not always the case (Hudson 1996: 51). Additionally, code-switching occurrences are usually found in cases where interlocutors share the same ethnic origin and they use this linguistic behaviour to express their solidarity or to demonstrate their common ethnic identity (Holmes 2001: 34-44). Moreover, according to Sgall, Hronek, Stich & Horecky the speaker's choice is affected by his/her relation to the audience (1992). To further analyze that, a speaker's linguistic choice may be different in the presence of family members and friends, and may change when

interacting with total strangers. As was mentioned earlier in this paper, code-switching does not only refer to the switch between two languages, but also to the switch between distinct varieties of the same language. In this case, code-switching takes place as an indicator of formality or informality of the interaction, or as a signal of the status relation between the addressee and the interlocutor(s). Additionally, code-switching serves an affective function, since it can be used to express approval or disapproval or to amuse the addressee. Regarding this particular function, Holmes argues that in certain linguistic communities, specific varieties have been associated with different affective functions, or some cases with reference to specific topics (2001: 38-9). Finally, code-switching has been used in case of message intrinsic factors, as quotation, idioms, reiteration and hedging. This is due to the fact that speakers opt for the language used in the original interaction in order to convey their message in the best possible way.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) made a distinction between two types of code-switching in terms of the social factors that affect it. More specifically, they have proposed two different kinds of code-switching, namely *situational* (or *transactional*) and *metaphorical* code-switching. Situational code-switching is influenced by the social situation of the interaction. According to Blom & Gumperz every event is characterized by a specific linguistic code considered appropriate for that particular situation. This linguistic code in other words is the norm, which if not followed will lead to the formation of a different perception of that particular situation. Thus, in situational code-switching, social situation and language choice are interrelated. Metaphorical code-switching on the other hand is not affected by the situation of the interaction, but by its topic. Different topics allow the development of two or more different relationships between the interlocutors and strongly relate to the communicative message that is conveyed (Blom & Gumperz 1972: 424-5).

Another form of code-switching is *code-mixing* which is alternatively called *conversational code-switching*. According to Hudson (1996) this type occurs when there is not a change in the situation settings. To the contrary, the speakers who are fluent bilinguals decide to switch between two languages on a repeated mode attempting to balance between the words they use from each language due to the fact that no language appears to be

appropriate under the circumstances. The switches take place in a random way in relation to the topic of the interaction, but they are restricted by the sentence boundaries and its structure. In this sense code-mixing is similar to metaphorical code-switching. Moreover, code-mixing obeys certain syntactic rules which are different for any given pair of languages that participate in it (Hudson 1996:53-55).

There are three prominent theories that have attempted to explain the social implications behind code-switching and the reasons that lead to its use. These are the Accommodation Theory proposed by Howard Giles, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model and Auer's Conversation Analysis. Regarding Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, it has as its basis the belief that speakers switch codes in order to achieve specific purposes, a process which is subjective as speakers weigh their alternative options and choose the best one that fulfils their needs (Myers-Scotton 2006: 159, Myers-Scotton 2009: 478). According to the Markedness Model every interaction is defined by a specific set of Rights and Obligations (set of RO) which is dictated by the power relations between the interlocutors, the topic, the setting and society itself. A choice that does not violate this set of RO is an 'unmarked choice', in other words a choice that is anticipated considering the topic, place and participants of the interaction. However, when a speaker chooses a linguistic code that is not expected, then he makes a 'marked choice', a choice which does not conform to the set of RO of that particular interaction. The model analyzes this choice through the negotiation principle. That is, when a speaker chooses a 'marked code', he immediately negotiates a new set of RO which arises from the need to negotiate himself and the power relations with his addressee (Myers-Scotton 2006: 159-61). Of course, as was mentioned earlier this violation of the expected code is driven by the need of the speaker to accomplish specific goals, which differ according to the situation of each interaction.

The next theory that will be briefly discussed is the Accommodation Theory of Howard Giles. The keystone of this theory is that speakers change their linguistic code because they aim to a more favourable image in the eyes of their addressee. Giles argues that people tend to accommodate their linguistic choice to that of others because they want to be liked by them or because they like them. The opposite is also true according to Giles,

speakers diverge from the linguistic choice of others in order to show their dislike. Moreover, divergence of a linguistic code can be also attributed to the speaker's need to emphasize his/her distinctiveness or to shape the feelings of their addressee (Romaine 1995: 162, Sachdev & Giles 2004: 358-9, Myers-Scotton 2006: 131). It is obvious that the two aforementioned theories share some characteristics, since they both analyze linguistic choices in terms of the speaker's intentions or goals, however Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model appears to be based on more solid foundations and her categorization of marked and unmarked choices, that is choices which are anticipated or not, will be employed later in this study for the analysis of the recorded data. On the other hand, although Giles' theory attributes linguistic choices to the speaker's intention, however he does not take into account other possible reasons for language choice except the speaker's feelings of like or dislike towards his/her addressee.

Finally, there is another prominent theory regarding the social factors that lead to code-switching, the Conversational Analysis (CA) introduced by Auer. The basic assumption of CA is that a speaker's linguistic choice affects the linguistic choices of subsequent interactions and emphasizes the 'sequential implicativeness of language choice' (Auer 1998: 162). Moreover, Auer argues that the context of each interaction is not given a priori, but it is defined by the interaction and its participants. For that reason, every interaction is unique and it is analyzed as such in the CA approach. In other words, the strongest advantage of the CA approach and its significant difference to all the rest is according to its proponents the fact that it does not investigate all code-switching occurrences in a holistic and general manner, but it attributes unique characteristics to each one of them. CA supporters claim that this method is not content with superficial guesses, macro-social aspects or assumptions for the social implications that lead to code-switching, but it examines thoroughly and deeply each and every interaction to find the reasons that led to that specific choice in that unique exchange of speech. Li Wei, who is one of CA proponents, states that the most significant characteristics of this method are 'relevance, consequentiality and balance between social structure and conversation structure' (Wei 1998: 162). In addition to that, the CA approach places particular emphasis on the transcribing of conversations in order to investigate the deep social message that every

speaker conveys and its effect. Lastly, it should be stated that although every code-switching interaction is unique and cannot be repeated unless rehearsed or by coincidence, however it is an undeniable fact that there are certain common social forces, urges and needs that lead speakers to code-switch and which repeat themselves in similar social settings. Thus, although a micro-analysis of each interaction is necessary, however certain general categorizations are inevitable due to the common elements of some code-switching occurrences.

2.7 Borrowings and Code-switching

‘Problematic’ is the only adjective that can accurately represent the distinction between borrowing, loanwords and code-switching. A number of well-respected and prominent linguists have published their views on these language contact phenomena, providing different characteristics of the distinction between them. It is important to note at this point that the existing views on the distinction between these phenomena will be presented adopting the terms of Myers-Scotton, namely donor language (the language which lends the element) and recipient language (the language which receives and integrates the element).

For Myers-Scotton borrowing only refers to lexical items, and mentions that ‘singly occurring code-switching lexemes and single lexical borrowings resemble each other’ (1993: 6). Poplack, Sankoff and Miller made a distinction between loanwords that have been established in the recipient language and what Weinreich (1953) called *nonce borrowings*. Nonce borrowings are words that singly occur and that can only be integrated for the time of the conversation (Weinreich 1953, Poplack et al. 1988: 50). The majority of these words belong to the grammatical category of nouns (Myers-Scotton 2006: 254). Romaine argues that for any word in a bilingual interaction which may be a loanword it is not certain if it consists a form of code-switching (Romaine 1995: 62).

Myers-Scotton includes these single-occurring borrowings in the category of code-switching and views them as ‘codeswitched elements in mixed constituents’ (2006: 254). Moreover, she seems to distinguish between established borrowings and code-switches on

the basis that established borrowings are integrated into the word order of the recipient language and are fully or partly integrated into the recipient language, whilst code-switching occurrences follow the word order of the donor language and its patterns (Myers-Scotton 2006: 254). Finally, she claims that cultural borrowings can be introduced into the recipient language through the code-switching occurrences of bilingual speakers. Thus, they are single occurring code-switching forms which can possibly become cultural borrowings (Myers-Scotton 2002: 239).

Heath also discusses the distinction between borrowing and code-switching. Firstly, he mentions that the term 'borrowing' does not represent its true sense, that is an element which is loaned but then anticipated to return to the donor language. In fact borrowings are never returned to the donor language, but become integrated into the recipient language. For Heath the ideal definition of borrowing is 'a historically transferred form, usually a word (or lexical stem) that has settled comfortably into the target language' whilst code-switching is characterized by spontaneity, complete linguistic influence, internal structure and clear boundaries between the sentences of the two languages. In other words, a word of foreign origin which has been fully integrated into the recipient language and perceived as one of its own is a true borrowing (Heath 2001: 433).

Nevertheless, Heath too states that the distinction between borrowing and code-switching is in most of the cases problematic. Borrowing and code-switching in certain cases resemble each other. Some borrowings have not been fully integrated into the recipient language and are still recognizable as foreign. Furthermore, some borrowings exist in the form of phrases which strictly follow the structure of the donor language, such as *sine qua non*. On the other hand, code-switching does not always occur between sentences and can simply consist of foreign words or phrases which are included into a fully unaffected language syntactic structure. In order to deal with these overlapping situations some linguists have suggested the term code-mixing (Heath 2001: 433).

Furthermore for Heath, a sufficient factor to distinguish between borrowings and code-switching could be the degree of nativization, but again the distinction is problematic due to

the different linguistic levels that constitute nativization. In the majority of the cases some phonological aspects of the borrowed or the code-switched phrase can be fully native for the recipient language, whilst some other may still contain elements of the phonology of the donor language (Heath 2001:433).

Thomason too stresses the difficulty of a distinction between loanwords (or borrowings) and code-switching. It is not coincidental that nouns and discourse markers are the most common code-switched items and loanwords. For Thomason the distinction between the two language contact phenomena lies in the frequency of use. When a word is used frequently and when the monolingual speaker has borrowed it from a bilingual speaker then the word in question is considered a loanword (Thomason 2001: 133).

Moreover, Hudson also distinguishes between code-switching and borrowing, as according to him the first involves the mixing of languages in speech whilst the latter refers to the mixing of the language systems themselves, as a linguistic unit is actually ‘borrowed’ from one language to constitute a part of the other (1996: 55).

In conclusion, it can be argued that although the most prominent efforts to produce a distinction between the two phenomena have been presented, the issue still remains complex and as it is of paramount importance to this project will be referred to later on with the discussion of the project’s recorded data in Chapter 5 where a new basis for the distinction of the two terms will be proposed.

2.8 The Dominance of the English Language

As was stated before the main reason for the use of borrowings and especially for core borrowings is the dominance of the donor language. It is needless to mention that the most dominant language of the 21st century is English which has acquired a global status. But what are the characteristics of a global language? Crystal argues that ‘a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country’ (1997: 2). This can be achieved in two ways: firstly, by acquiring official status in

a country with a different native language and by being used mostly in the governmental, educational and media sector and secondly, by becoming the ‘priority in a country’s foreign language teaching, even though this language has no official status’ (Crystal 1997: 3). The latter appears to be true in the case of Greece. However, apart from the official status that each country may attribute to the English language, English’s globalization resulted from other sources too; More specifically, it is what Blommaert calls ‘from below’, that is through the informal marketing of the English language that takes place in the media and through popular culture (Blommaert 2009: 563).

It is true that linguistic dominance is strongly related to cultural power which is created by economic, military and political achievements. Britain and the U.S after the colonization era increased and stabilized their economic and political status all over the world and English became the official language in various countries, such as India, Singapore and Ghana and nowadays is the most popular taught foreign language in Europe, Asia and Africa (Crystal 1997: 3). Filipović on the other hand who is another proponent of English’s global status solely focuses on the influence of English on other European languages and argues that all European languages have become recipients of English loanwords either through their direct contact with an English speaking country or through the indirect transfer of lexical items through the media (1996: 39).

Crystal discusses the advantages of a global language or of a ‘lingua franca’. Among those are the facilitation of communication in the fields of business and economy, as well as in Academia and national organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union and the World Health Organization (2010: 56-57). Additionally, the people’s need for a common language is also evident in personal communications, as with the development and expansion of the World Wide Web individuals from all over the planet can contact each other with great ease. Similarly, Filipović notes that European languages have been enriched by 1500 to 2000 ‘Anglicisms’ in all fields of human knowledge including politics, philosophy, religion, science and sports (1996: 39).

Nevertheless, even Crystal who clearly stands in favour of the status of English as a global language expresses his fears about the possible negative consequences of a global language. He argues that people may lose interest in learning other languages, native English speakers may be viewed as privileged or a linguistic elite in business world, minority languages may disappear and even all other languages that exist in the world may be threatened (2010: 58). With regard to the apparent advantage of native English speakers in relation to individuals who have acquired English as a second or foreign language, Crystal notes that this problem could be led to a solution with the implementation of English teaching practices that start at the early stages of a person's life, as young children are more capable of become bilingual with limited effort as opposed to adults (2010: 59). However, this theory is in fact suggesting the imperative learning of English as a means of future professional development, a task that requires funds, time and effort and as a result immediately places non-native English societies as well as individuals to a disadvantageous position. In a country such as Greece, where public education is insufficient and where the majority of students attend private classes at high financial costs in order to survive competition and to succeed, the need to acquire English to a native-like level adds significantly to the expenses of the average Greek family. Of course, foreign language learning is widely appreciated by the Greek society and this is why a great number of adolescents nowadays learn two foreign languages or even more. Nevertheless, the fact that English-language learning at native level is 'achievable' as Crystal points out in some countries of Europe is encouraging, but cannot be achieved without the support of major institutions.

In a similar vein, regarding the belief that native-English speakers are less eager to learn a foreign language because of the dominance of their mother tongue, Crystal argues that the need for foreign investment leads businesses based in English-speaking communities to 'impose' foreign language learning on their employees. Finally, he attributes language death or loss to internal political and economic reasons and not to the emergence of a global language. Nevertheless, he argues that English language dominance has influenced many languages in the world especially with the integration of English loanwords which have been perceived both in a favourable and unfavourable way, a phenomenon which

according to Crystal cannot possibly lead to devastating results for the recipient language, as it only concerns a limited part of its lexicon (2010: 63).

It is true that the linguistic dominance of English does not generate positive feelings to all. Phillipson stands on the other side of the spectrum from Crystal and describes the dominance of the English language as *linguistic imperialism*⁴ which is characterized by the existence of ‘structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages’ (1992: 47). Other languages appear unequal to English in terms of material and ideological properties. For Phillipson one of the ‘symptoms’ of English imperialism is borrowing. In fact he mentions that a number of communities have tried to ban this linguistic intrusion by not accepting English loanwords of technical nature. Finally, another academic who opposes English imperialism is Skutnabb-Kangas who argues in favour of linguistic rights which will protect and respect the development of a community’s native language (1998: 22). However, Pennycook notes that both Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas focus on the political and ideological side of linguistic imperialism and neglect the individual character of imperialism, that is they fail to explain how people actually use English and why they use it (Pennycook 2001: 62). It is for this reason that the present study wishes to investigate individuals’ motivations for borrowing.

2.9 Earlier Research on English Loanword Use

2.9.1 Similar studies in Modern Greek

Similar research has not been conducted in Greece to a great extent. However, there are some linguists who have attributed particular importance to the phenomena of code-

⁴ English linguistic imperialism can be described as having two forms: anglocentricity and professionalism. Anglocentricity occurs when English functions as the norm to which all other languages are compared. Professionalism refers to the view of methods used in English Language Teaching (ELT) as sufficient for the analysis of language learning (Phillipson 1992:48). With the strength of these two mechanisms and the base of a political, economic, technological and scientific power English has become the international language of the last decades.

switching and the use of English loanwords in Modern Greek. Makri-Tsilipakou (1999) examines the use of foreign loanwords in Greek through data taken from the media or personal interactions that she has recorded. She accepts the use of foreign words and mostly English as a reality and argues that the reasons that led to this linguistic behaviour are of political and economic nature and are due to the dominance of the English language in Europe (Makri-Tsilipakou 1999: 48). Moreover, she stresses that the use of foreign words is not simply a habit of the youth, as some may assume, but it is also reported in the case of all age groups.

In her study, Makri-Tsilipakou presents English and French core and cultural borrowings and categorizes them according to the reasons that led to their use. The first category is named 'the exact word' and includes instances of foreign language use that are due to the lack of an equivalent word in the native language of the speaker, in this case Greek, or due to the inadequacy or unavailability of the existing equivalent (1999: 450). In other words, the use of the foreign word is driven by the need of the speaker for precision. Usually, according to Makri-Tsilipakou this kind of loanword use is performed by people who are extremely familiar with the foreign language or who due to their profession are overexposed to specific terminology. Another category attributes the use of foreign linguistic units to reasons of economy. This use however can again be influenced by the absence of the equivalent Greek word, since the speaker may prefer a single foreign word, than explaining its meaning in Greek with an entire sentence. Additionally, loanwords can be used for reasons of tact; a foreign word appears less offensive than a native one especially when the interaction takes place in the media. Also loanwords can function as a distancing device when unwanted or tragic matters are discussed or as meaning intensifiers (1999: 452-3). Moreover, foreign language units are employed to express humour or sarcasm with the speakers commenting or critically viewing the very fact of borrowings use. Examples of such use are evident in the present research as well. Finally, loanwords are used to project one's expert knowledge or to demonstrate elite membership. Thus, foreign lexical items are used in order for the speakers to flaunt their linguistic abilities using a pretentious accent, or not when such abilities are non-existent (1999: 454). It should be stated that the categorization of Makri-Tsilipakou will be employed for the

analysis of this project's recorded data in Chapter 3.

Turning now to Tsiplakou's (2009) study, it focuses on the attitudes of Greek speakers towards code-switching on email interactions through questionnaire interviewing as well as on a corpus-based analysis of this linguistic behaviour. Tsiplakou bases her analysis on the responses of 77 Greek native speakers either of Standard or Cypriot Greek aged 15-50, all living in Cyprus (2009: 369). The variables employed for the prediction of the degree of code-switching on email were 'the extent of English language use at home, the frequency of exposure to English, the number of languages in which the speaker was educated and use of English in the workplace', whilst the variables used to investigate any variations in the responses of participants were "gender", "education", "age", "English language proficiency", "manner of acquisition" (natural vs. structured), "languages in which the speaker was educated", and also the "extent of the use of English as a means of personal expression" (Tsiplakou 2009: 370) such as in praying, swearing, note-taking, dreaming, diary-writing (Mackey 2000). Sixty-three of the informants claimed that they code-switch always or frequently on emails, whereas 14 argued that they code-switch rarely or sometimes. Tsiplakou used these 63 respondents to examine the reasons and functions of code-switching and the results revealed that participants employed English for greetings, to express terminology related to technology, to quote, as markers or fillers and finally for expressions of affect. With regard to the reasons that lead participants to code-switching, informants argue that they practice it because '(a) English is the language of CMC (computer-mediated communication); (b) the 'mixed' variety is a specific code reserved for communication with the on-line addressee; (c) they code-switch in face-to-face interaction as well; (d) the 'mixed' code is instrumental in building a second, virtual identity; (e) Greek sounds more 'formal', 'serious' and 'pompous' on email; (f) the subject-matter of emails favors the use of English; (g) the English words or expressions are easier to recall online than the corresponding Greek ones' (Tsiplakou 2009: 372). On the other side of the spectrum, they argued that they do not use English lexical items or phrases for reasons of prestige or in formal face-to-face interactions. Other findings reveal that almost half of the 63 participants who stated that they code-switch frequently claim that this linguistic practice will prevail in face-to-face communication as well, whilst only

28.6% of those who code-switch on a rare or occasional basis expressed the same view. Finally, it should be mentioned that almost an equal percentage of both groups (39.7% and 35.7% respectively) agreed with the statement that the spread of English is an indication of cultural and linguistic imperialism which threatens the Greek language. In the corpus-based analysis Tsiplakou examines the degree and types of code-switching of 60 email messages produced by six participants and according to her sociolinguistic analysis of the data users code-switch in order to demonstrate in-group solidarity, to decrease the importance of face-threatening acts, to demonstrate dominant relations, but also to cultivate their common strong identity which has its foundation on high levels of literacy and linguistic awareness as shown through their common practices (Tsiplakou 2009: 387-388).

The foci of studies on code-switching are usually on migrant communities where code-switching is a common practice and both languages are used on an everyday basis serving different functions. For this reason Finnis, Gardner-Chloros and McEntee-Atalianis (2005) conducted a study on the use of code-switching by the Greek-Cypriot London community which aimed at revealing facts regarding the attitudes of the subjects toward the use of Modern Greek, Greek-Cypriot and English as well as toward the use of code-switching. The Greek-Cypriot population of London is estimated to be approximately 200.000 people (Christodoulou-Pipis 1991) and the authors mention that despite the apparent linguistic integrity of the Cypriot dialect and of Modern Greek, many have expressed fears and concerns about the possible loss of the Greek-Cypriot identity and dialect within the community (2005: 71). Finnis et al.'s project bases on the analysis of participants' responses to a questionnaire which includes statements regarding 'their attitudes towards the use of English, Modern Greek and Greek-Cypriot in different domains, questions concerning the use of subjects' language in different situations (i.e. at home, at work), with different interlocutors (i.e. parents, Greek-Cypriot friends) and for distinct functions and finally some demographic data' (2005: 73 author's translation). Eight hundred questionnaires were distributed both in English and Greek, but only 159 were processed and analyzed. Respondents consist of various age groups with the lowest age barrier being 16 years of age and all statements were examined through the Likert scale. The results revealed that the age factor played a significant role with regard to participants' attitudes

towards the use of English and its function as a potential threat to the maintenance of Modern Greek and the Greek-Cypriot dialect with younger informants appearing as more uncertain and agreeing to a lesser extent with the suggestion that English use poses a threat to their native tongue, whilst older respondents agreed to a greater degree with this statement (2005: 75-76). Moreover, younger informants were found not to consider the use of English a threat to their cultural identity as opposed to older informants who appear more concerned regarding this issue. Furthermore, in the case of participants' attitudes towards code-switching practices in terms of the 'age' factor, results demonstrate a tendency of younger participants to consider code-switching more useful than older informants. Additionally, taking into account the 'profession' factor, groups with lower social prestige expressed a more favourable view toward code-switching practice, whilst in the case of the 'education' factor more educated participants presented a more negative attitude toward code-switching than less educated informants. In their totality however, participants consider code-switching a common practice and do not oppose to it. Finnis et al. attribute the reasons for this stance to the function of code-switching as 'an essential communication tool used for the formation and expression of a Greek-Cypriot's identity who was born in London' (2005: 88 author's translation, Gardner-Chloros and Finnis 2003). As far as the relation of the aforementioned project to the present one is concerned, it should be stated that Greek-Cypriots and Greeks are both native speakers of Modern Greek, their attitudes are expected to be different as the Finnis et al.'s subjects live in England, whilst these project's participants live in Greece. Any similar tendencies or differences to this and all the studies presented so far as well as to those that follow will be examined in the discussion in Chapter 5.

2.9.2 Similar studies in other languages

There have been a number of similar to the present studies that have demonstrated the impact of English on a country's native language. It appears that this sociolinguistic impact has captured the attention of various researchers and academics who have been interesting in exploring the influence of the English language on languages such as Danish, Japanese and Chinese and the attitudes of the respective publics towards the use of English

loanwords and code-switching.

A study conducted in Denmark fortifies the belief that the English language has acquired global characteristics and that it is present in everyday interactions as well as in the media. According to Preisler, code-switching to English is ‘the rule rather than the exception in Denmark’ (Preisler 2005: 238). He also describes the average Dane as follower of such a linguistic trend who accepts it without any criticism and considers it a part of a larger process which aims at internationalization. Moreover, Preisler argues that the vast majority of Danes support the opinion that English should be taught in primary schools as early as possible which in their view indicates the readiness of the Danish government to create an internationalized Danish society that would be able to fulfill all the requirements of the modern business world. He also stresses the fact that although such laws that would promote the earlier adoption of EFL in primary schools are favoured by the wider Danish public, however it has not been proven yet that they would result in the development of more proficient speakers of English.

Before presenting the results of Preisler’s research regarding the attitude of Danes towards English and its presence in the Danish society, it should be pointed out that regarding education, one third of Danish adults have agreed with the suggestion that apart from English other classes too should be taught through the medium of the English language and that one in four claim that the Danish educational system should offer the same amount of time to the teaching of EFL (English as a foreign language) as to the teaching of Danish.

Preisler’s study clearly reveals the positive attitude of the Danes towards the presence of English in the Danish society. In terms of methodology, Preisler provided the participants of his project with the following statements: The presence of the English language in Danish society is...: a. ‘a practical consequence of increased internationalization’, b. ‘useful because it helps improve people’s English’, c. ‘useful because it broadens people’s cultural horizon’, d. ‘a threat to the Danish language’, e. ‘a threat to the Danish culture’, f. ‘a craze that should not be taken seriously’. In addition to that, participants had to choose between the following options: ‘I agree very much’, ‘I agree with some reservations’, ‘I

disagree to some extent', 'I strongly disagree' or 'I don't know'. Preisler summarized the results by adding up the percentages of participants who selected the first and second option respectively. According to these results, 92% of the respondents agreed with or without reservations with the statement that English's presence in Denmark is a practical consequence of increased internationalization. Additionally, 89% of the participants claimed that such a presence is useful because it helps improve people's English, whilst 69% believed that it is useful because it broadens people's cultural horizon. As far as the negative statements towards the integration of English in the Danish society are concerned, 26% of respondents argued that it is a threat to the Danish language, whilst only 19% considered it a threat to the Danish culture. Finally, 16% agreed with the statement that English's omnipresence is a craze that should not be taken seriously.

From the aforementioned results it can be argued that the vast majority of the Danish population support the strong presence of the English language and believe that it is useful for the Danish society. However, it should be mentioned that the percentage appears to be smaller regarding the third statement, a fact which could lead to the assumption that Danes are more skeptical towards a positive influence of English on their culture. In general, it can be stated that Danes appear quite certain about their language's viability and do not foresee that the use of English can pose any danger to the uniqueness of the Danish language and culture.

Another study that also focuses on the impact of English on a community's native language is that of Marek Koscielecki (2006) which however approaches the issue from a different perspective. Koscielecki in his paper *Japanised English, its context and socio-historical background* presents the status of English loanwords in the Japanese society and provides as the title states a socio-historical overview of the relation between the two languages. However, what should be noted is that in contrast to the present study, Koscielecki draws his attention to English loanwords that have been morphologically and in some cases semantically influenced by the Japanese language and which have been fully absorbed and integrated into the Japanese linguistic system. This is manifested by the addition of common Japanese suffixes and by the alteration in the original English pronunciation. The

latter is also true in the case of Greek native speakers since as mentioned earlier there are certain differences between the phonological systems of the two languages which do not allow the use of certain English phonemes in Modern Greek.

According to Koscielecki's paper the arrival of English in the Japan took place in three different waves (1613-1623, 1854-1941 and 1945 onward). A number of researchers and academics have certified the adoption of a significant amount of English words by the Japanese society, among those Stanlaw who states that 'ever since the initial contact with English in the nineteenth century..., Japanese have borrowed English loanwords in their vocabulary en masse...' (1987: 93). This massive integration of English loanwords led to the need of a term which would describe accurately the nature of the modern Japanese language. Several terms were employed for that purpose such as *Japglish*, *Janglish* and *Japangurishu* and finally *Japanized English* which is the most commonly used and the one which best describes what was mentioned earlier, namely the morphological alteration of English loanwords. An indication of the early linguistic influence of English on Japanese constitutes a study carried out by Ichikawa published in 1928 which presents a list of twelve domains where the impact of the English language is obvious. Moreover, according to Miller (1967) Ichikawa found 1,400 English loanwords in Japanese, whilst in 1930 another researcher which remains unknown identified 5000 English loanwords in the Japanese language and introduced the term *Japanized English* (Koscielecki 2006: 26).

The majority of borrowed items in Japanese are nouns, as in all other languages and only a few English loanwords belong to the grammatical category of adjectives. Adjectives are usually formatted by the addition of the Japanese suffix */-na/*, whilst some verbs have also derived from borrowed items with the addition of the suffix */-suru/* or */-ru/* (Koscielecki 2006: 27).

As far as the attitudes of the Japanese public toward the adoption and use of English loanwords are concerned, the author argues that the opposition in comparison to other countries such as French speaking Canada and Indonesia was not particularly strong. According to the results of a survey conducted by the press or public broadcasting (NHK)

in the area of Tokyo, 50% of the respondents of the younger group (20-24 years old) perceived the incorporation of English loanwords into Japanese as beneficial for the creation of new images and 33% claimed that loanwords express subtle distinctions which cannot be conveyed in Japanese (Koscielecki 2006: 28). Nonetheless, on the other side of the spectrum stand some academics who characterize the use of core borrowings as 'linguistic pollution' and condemn the replacement of Japanese words by English and the adoption of English literary structures by the Japanese academic community. However, the majority of academics and public consider the incorporation of English loanwords a symbol of modernization both in terms of language and technology. Another reason for this positive stance is that English loanwords follow a localization process through semantic and morphological alterations which make them impossible to be understood simply on the basis of their original meaning. In other words, English loanwords adopted by Japanese are now Japanese (Jorden and Noda 1987: 70). However, while this may be the case, Koscielecki clearly states that Japanese is one of the most English-influenced languages in the world (Koscielecki 2006: 30).

We now turn our attention on Chinese and its relation to the English language. In 2001 Hall-Lew conducted a pilot study focusing on the existence of English loanwords in Mandarin Chinese as part of her Bachelor's degree thesis. Hall-Lew states that the contact between the two languages began in the late Ming dynasty and was fortified with the end of the Opium war, when China developed extensive relations with the West in the fields of science, technology, economy and politics. Consequently, English became a language of significant status in China and was taught as a second language in schools. Hall-Lew emphasizes the high status of English in China by arguing that in many Chinese Universities a good grade in the College English Test constitutes a prerequisite for a Bachelor's degree to be awarded. In the study that will be briefly presented in the following lines, she uses a corpus of potential English loanwords, analyzes their use in semantic, morphological and sociolinguistic terms and examines their degree of integration with the help of 36 participants who are native speakers of Mandarin Chinese living in Yunnan Province, China and in Tucson, Arizona. The English loanwords that were included in this project were mostly words belonging to the domains of technology, pop

culture, politics, communication and music.

As in the case of the Japanese language which was discussed above, the majority of English loanwords in Chinese have been fully incorporated into the phonological and morphological system of the Chinese language, whilst some of them have also undergone semantic alterations. The main problem regarding phonological changes arises from the fact that in the Chinese sound system there are no occurrences of consonant clusters whereas in the English language a plethora of syllables start or end with consonant clusters. On the issue of semantic changes, Hall-Lew mentions that due to the strong link between certain notions and Western culture, only loanwords belonging to the realm of pop culture have experienced semantic alterations. One example is the word *ku* which generated from the morphological absorption of the English word *cool* into the Chinese language. *Ku* however in Chinese can be used only when referring to objects and never to people, whilst in English the latter is also an option (Hall-Lew 2002: 28-30).

As was mentioned earlier 36 informants were used for Hall-Lew's study. The majority of them were familiar with the English words there were provided by the researcher, while some admitted not using a few of the given items. It is important to note that those who were unfamiliar with the loanwords were over 40 years of age. In cases where the respondents were presented with both the English loanword and its Mandarin equivalent, they stated that they used both equally in their everyday interactions. Also, participants were asked whether the words they were provided with, sounded foreign or native to them. For some of the loanwords the respondents identified their English origin, whilst some others appeared to them as Japanese or belonging to the Hong-Kong and Taiwan dialects. Additionally, participants were asked about the reasons for using 'pure' English loanwords in Chinese. Most of them replied that in some cases English loanwords are easier to use, as in the example of *email* versus the Chinese *dianzixinjian* or *yimeier*. However, Hall-Lew argues that this should not be the only factor affecting this preference towards the specific English loanword, considering the fact that *yimeier* derives from the Chinese lexicon whilst *email* does not, therefore it would be supposedly easier to use (2002: 34).

Moreover, informants were asked whether certain loanwords are more likely to be used by a particular age group. Some loanwords were considered to be mostly used by the youth, whereas other words were thought to be used by all age groups. However, the responses regarding the participants' personal use of words indicated that there was obvious link between particular English loanwords and specific age groups.

Furthermore, Hall-Lew discusses the attitudes towards English loanwords integrated in Chinese. The participants in her study placed emphasis on the prestigious character of English in China and claimed that English-language acquisition is a necessary condition in order for one to find better employment opportunities, to achieve higher standards of living or to be part of the business world. Additionally, they stressed the importance of the English language for China's economic development and technological advancement, especially after its inclusion in the World Trade Organization (2002: 40).

Finally, interviewees were asked whether they use English loanwords when speaking to other Chinese people and if so what are the reasons that lead them to this linguistic choice. The majority of the informants provided a negative response, while those who admit using English loanwords stated that they did it only in informal interactions and for the sake of amusement. A limited number of participants argued that the extended use of English loanwords or their inappropriate use would make the speaker appear pretentious and arrogant (2002: 40-41).

All the studies presented above are extremely important to the present project which wishes to relate to them by examining similarities and differences and by exploring different attitudes toward the aforementioned language contact phenomena in diverse speech communities. This will take place in the discussion section in Chapter 5 in an attempt to locate parallels and draw conclusions from this comparison.

Chapter 3: Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Data

3.1 Methods

As was mentioned earlier the data of the project consist of attitudes collected via the medium of questionnaires and data from recorded TV programmes. At this point it is the latter that will be analyzed and examined from a sociolinguistic perspective.

The data used for the purpose of this study were collected from various TV programmes broadcast on the most popular and widely-viewed channels on Greek TV. Television data were selected due to the fact that television is one of the most widespread and influential media, if not the most influential of all, because it is cost free and because people appearing on television enjoy great popularity. In order to indicate the potential effect of the use of English loanwords and code-switching occurrences in the Greek media, the recorded data derive only from shows viewed by a significant number of people according to the television audience measurement figures published by AGB Nielsen Audience Measurement company. For the same reason, regional channels were excluded from the project. Additionally, it should be stated that the programmes used for this study were broadcast either live or were prerecorded, but included instances of spontaneous and natural speech and do not follow a predefined scenario in contrast to series or soap operas. The vast majority of the recorded TV shows fall inside the realm of entertainment due to the fact that these programmes enjoy the greatest number of viewers in the morning, afternoon and night zones respectively. In other words recorded instances were selected on the basis of the popularity of the particular type of programmes in order to lend support to the theory that English language use on television could have an influence on the linguistic choices of the public, a topic that will be discussed in the following chapter where the attitudes of 400 participants will be examined. Moreover, the recorded data include only utterances spoken by well-known TV personalities which could be journalists, TV presenters, anchormen, actors, singers or other personalities who are highly popular and recognizable to the wider Greek audience. The procedure followed to collect the data was quite simple. Thanks to the technological evolution that allows the use of online web TV which broadcasts live

programmes, but which also offers the ability to choose from a wide selection of recorded shows, every time an occurrence of English loanword use was perceived, that particular section was recorded. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the vast majority of the English words presented in the data are core borrowings, thus they have a Greek equivalent either direct or indirect and they were used in this project in order to demonstrate that the speaker had an alternative option and was not forced to use the words provided. Finally, before presenting the data it is of paramount importance to note that no ethical issues can arise from the recording and publishing of the following data, due to the fact that the Greek law clearly indicates that any statements uttered in the mass media can be reproduced and repeated without the consent of the speaker (Law 2121/1993 Issue of the Official Gazette of Greece 1993).

The data were categorized under two main types: use of English followed by a translation and use of English not followed by a translation. This categorization was selected so as to demonstrate the issues of intelligibility which can result from the use of foreign lexical items, on the reasonable assumption that not all Greeks have acquired English as a second language; some of them have acquired English to a great extent, some to a good extent while others have not acquired it at all. All the utterances were additionally sub-categorized in terms of the reasons that lead to the use of English loanwords. For that part the categorization of Makri-Tsilipakou (1999) was mainly employed, since the majority of recorded instances were found to share common characteristics with those examined by Makri-Tsilipakou and thus a significant part of her categorization was used. Of course all categorizations are based on assumptions of the speaker's intention(s) and no safe conclusions can be drawn unless the intention is declared by the speaker himself. Finally, it should be stated that all the language data are presented in the following form: firstly, the original utterance is provided, then the literal translation of the utterance and finally the semantic translation.

3.2 Use of English Followed by a Translation

In most of the recorded cases the speakers as soon as they utter the English loanword they realize that the use of English words or phrases is not appropriate considering the viewers of the show/programme and therefore immediately provide the Greek translation. More specifically, they realize that they had been using a ‘marked’ code, a code which is not expected and understood by the audience, and therefore they switch to an ‘unmarked’ code, a code which is mutually intelligible and appropriate considering the topic, the addressee and place of interaction (Myers-Scotton 2006: 159-61). It is significant at this point to explain the term ‘audience’ which will be repeatedly used in this chapter. The vast majority of the programmes used in this project are viewed by all age groups and there is no particularly programme that is only viewed by younger or older age groups or a programme that consists in its overwhelming majority of young or older viewers. In terms of sociolinguistic analysis this implies that a significant number of the audience of all programmes (i.e. older age individuals, children and people of younger age who have not acquired the English language to a good degree) do not know the Greek equivalent for the English loanword used in each occurrence. The examples that follow illustrate this linguistic behaviour.

3.2.1 Use of English for reasons of precision

As Makri-Tsilipakou correctly points out, one of the reasons that lead speakers to employ foreign lexical items is the need to be precise, because of the lack of an exact equivalent word in the native language, in this case Modern Greek (1999: 450).

In this first occurrence the speaker, a presenter, is discussing her future plans as a presenter and uses the term *infotainment* to refer to the type of programme, she would be interested in presenting. The word *infotainment* is used for reasons of precision, since there is not an exact equivalent word in Greek, but only a paraphrase. This is due to the fact that *infotainment* is a word created by the US media for the media, following the common habit of Americans to create a neologism by combining two words. After the word is uttered

however, the speaker provides the two components of the word, namely *information* and *entertainment* and then translates the two lexical items into Greek in order for her message to be conveyed.

(3.2.1 a) *Νομίζω ότι η τηλεόραση του μέλλοντος είναι το **infotainment** που βγαίνει από το **information** και από το **entertainment**, δηλαδή από την ενημέρωση και από τη ψυχαγωγία και είναι κάτι που θα έχει και τα δύο μαζί.*

Think-PRESENT-1S that the television of future be-PRESENT-3S the infotainment which come-PRESENT-3S from the information and from the entertainment, that is from the information and the entertainment and be-PRESENT-3S something that will have-3S and both together.

‘I think that the television of the future is the infotainment which derives from information and entertainment, that is information and entertainment and it is something that will combine both’.

Emi Livaniou, (about 32, a TV presenter) a guest interviewed on the afternoon weekend programme ‘TV Weekend’ on 28.06.08.

In the following example, the speaker, who is a high-ranked executive working for the national Greek TV channel and who was a guest at a popular TV show, is trying to explain the Finnish mentality regarding the preparation of a certain event. In his effort to be precise he explains that he will have to use an English phrase which will be followed by its translation into Greek. Thus, he employs the English phrase *rules over logic*, which although it appears as more precise in English, does have an equivalent in Greek, or could be paraphrased into one. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the speaker does not fulfil the promise of an explanation in Greek since the one he provides is incomplete.

(3.2.1 b) *Είναι αυτό που λένε...θα σας το πω στα Αγγλικά και θα το εξηγήσω μετά...είναι αυτο που λένε **rules over logic** ...στην Φινλανδία κινούνται όλα με κανονισμούς...*

Be-PRESENT-3S that which call-3P...will you it tell-1S in English and will it explain-1S later...be-3S that which call-PRESENT-3P rules over logic...in Finland move-PRESENT-3P all with rules...

‘It’s what they call...I’ll tell it in English and I will explain it later...it’s what they call rules over logic...in Finland everything is done according to the rules...’

Johnny Kalimeris, (about 45) Chief executive of NET, the national Greek television, a guest on the night programme 'TV Tiglon' on 16.05.07.

The following occurrence is differentiated to a certain extent from all the above due to the fact that the speaker initially renders his views in Greek and then employs an English lexical item so as express his ideas. Although at first he tries to present his opinion on the production of a song in Greek, at the end he uses the English word *overproduced* to refer to it. The reason for that is that the given word is part of a subject-related terminology commonly used abroad when discussing movie or album productions and thus it lends greater precision to the message the speaker wishes to convey.

(3.2.1 c) *Και η παραγωγή είναι λίγο παραπάνω παραγωγή απ’ ό,τι πρέπει, δηλαδή παραφτιαγμένη παραγωγή, αυτό που λένε **overproduced**.*

And the production be-PRESENT-3S a bit more production as it should, that is overdone production, what they call-PRESENT-3P overproduced.

‘And the production is a bit more produced than it should have been, that is it is an overmade production, what they call overproduced.’

Thodoris Koutsogiannopoulos, (about 40, a movie critic) on the morning show ‘Kafes me tin Eleni’ on 04.02.08.

3.2.2 Use of English for reasons of economy

In certain cases, the English language is used because it can express in a single word or phrase notions which would otherwise require a long paraphrase in order for their meaning to be transmitted. The following example falls into this category, where the speaker, the hostess of a morning programme whilst informing the audience of what will be broadcast the following days, resorts to the use of the English phrase *best of* for economy reasons, a phrase which she immediately translates into Greek. Taking into consideration the translation provided by the speaker ‘some very nice moments from our programme’, one could be led to the plausible assumption that the loanword in question is employed due to the fact that it is far more economical than the Greek equivalent. It should be mentioned that the phrase *best of* is widely used in the Greek media and is always incomplete. In other words, TV personalities or programme producers will use *best of* as it is without adding the name of the show or programme. Furthermore, it should be stressed that the presenter not only feels the need to explain what *best of* means because of the marked code she selected to use, but she also feels the need to justify her choice of an English phrase by stating that she likes the English language. Thus, the speaker provides her own reason for the use of foreign lexical elements. Finally, it should be noted that the programme in question mostly addresses housewives and university students due to the fact that it is broadcast in the morning. Thus, whilst the latter would probably understand what *best of* means, some of the housewives would have problem in understanding it, especially those of older age.

(3.2.2 a) Θα βλέπετε το πρόγραμμα: *best of*...γιατι μας αρέσει και λίγο το Αγγλικό και το χρησιμοποιούμε, δηλαδή κάποιες πολύ ωραίες στιγμές από το πρόγραμμα μας...

Will watch-2P the programme: best of...because us like-PRESENT-3S and bit the English and it use-PRESENT-1P, that is some very nice moments from the programme our....

‘You will watch the programme: best of...because we like English a bit and we use it, that is some very nice moments from our programme...’

Eleni Menegaki, (about 38) presenter of the morning show ‘Kafes me tin Eleni’ on 21.04.08.

3.2.3 Use of English as a medium of promoting the speaker’s linguistic abilities

In a country where the acquisition of foreign languages is promoted by the educational system at an early age and is a pre-requisite for professional development in several sectors, it is common for individuals to demonstrate their membership of the elite of the linguistically educated (Makri-Tsilipakou 1999: 454). Usually, in the occurrences belonging to this type of English use the speaker imitates a British or American accent in an effort to sound native. Nonetheless, this need for self-projection could result in the exact opposite effect when high levels of acquisition have not been achieved.

(3.2.3 a) *Συνήθως είναι αυτό που λέμε **urban legend**...αστικοί μύθοι.*

Usually be-PRESENT-3S that which call-PRESENT-1P urban legend...urban legends.

‘It is usually what we call urban legend ...urban legends.’

Thanasis Anagnostopoulos (about 35) on the morning show ‘Kafes me tin Eleni’ (date unknown).

In this case the speaker who is a journalist appearing on a morning show which is addressed mainly to housewives uses the English phrase *urban legend*, but after a short pause corrects himself by providing the Greek corresponding word as he presumably realizes that he was using a ‘marked code’. However, it can be assumed that the reason behind the use of a foreign lexical unit which certainly would not be understood by the majority of the audience is the need to promote oneself and to demonstrate expert knowledge and linguistic competence.

(3.2.3 b) Κοίταξε επειδή είναι *practically naked*...να το πούμε στα Αγγλικά... δηλαδή ουσιαστικά γυμνή..

Look-IMP-2P because be-PRESENT-3S *practically naked*...to it say-PAST SUBJUNCTIVE-1P in English...that is *practically naked*...

‘Look because she is *practically naked*...to say it in English, that is *practically naked*...’

Dimitris Papanotas, (about 42) journalist ‘Kous kous to mesimeri’ on 12.05.08.

In this particular instance, the participants of the show were discussing the stylistic choices of local stars and one of them used the English phrase *practically naked* to render his views on that topic. This particular expression is very commonly used in the respective foreign TV programmes, thus it could be speculated that it was borrowed to demonstrate the need of the speaker to be perceived as an ‘expert’ both in the English language and in that particular subject-matter. However, his need for self-promotion is not achieved at the expense of the audience’s understanding, since he immediately provides the Greek corresponding term in order to be understood by the wider Greek-speaking audience.

In the next example, the TV presenter of a weekend morning show is discussing with two journalists the issue of the abduction of a Greek businessman, the amount of ransom that was requested by the abductors and whether a deadline has been set. The utterance that follows demonstrates how a person can associate a specific notion with a specific language and forget the equivalent word in her native tongue or how desperately she wishes to show her linguistic abilities. The presenter uses the English word *deadline* and forgets the Greek equivalent. She even asks her interlocutors or maybe herself ‘how is it called?’. Still, her effort to think of a Greek word that correctly represents the notion *deadline* signifies the need to be understood by the wider audience which consists of people from all age groups who may not be aware of loanword’s meaning.

(3.2.3 c) Έχουνε δώσει **deadline**...πώς το λένε; 'Όριο;

Give- PRESENT PERF-3P deadline...how it call-PRESENT-3P? Limit?

‘Have they given a deadline, how is it called? A limit?’

Sofia Aliberti (about 42), presenter of the morning programme ‘Kalomeleta kai erhete’ on 14.06.08.

In the following occurrence the speaker who is a guest at a popular TV show is using the English phrase *flight simulator* in order to describe one of his hobbies, a phrase which obviously cannot be comprehended by the majority of the audience, but only by proficient speakers of English. Hence, once again English lexical units are employed as a means of demonstrating linguistic expertise. This is also signified by the pretentious English accent of speaker which is common in cases of English use for reasons of promoting the speaker’s linguistic expertise. Unfortunately for the speaker, the host of the show does not belong to this elite of language experts and fails to understand the English phrase. Thus, he asks for a translation and not for a reiteration as the guest initially believes and so the guest switches to Greek in order to be understood. Therefore, in this case the speaker does not voluntarily provide the Greek interpretation, but does so after the suggestion of his interlocutor.

(3.2.3 d) A. - Κάνω πάρα πολύ **flight simulator**.

B. - Πώς;

A. - **Flight**...Εξομοιωτή πτήσης...

- Do-PRESENT-1S a lot flight simulator.

- How?

- Flight...simulator flight-GEN...

- ‘I practice a lot with a flight simulator.’

- ‘What?’

- ‘Flight...flight simulator...’

Miltos Makridis (about 35, TV presenter) as guest on the night show ‘TV Tiglon’ on 09.05.07.

In the following example, the speaker talks about another presenter who according to her point of view appeared as an innovative personality because she was part of the next generation of television professionals. In order to render her thoughts the speaker uses the English phrase *generation next*, albeit following an incorrect word order, which she immediately translates into Greek, as soon as she realizes that this term would not be understood by the majority of the viewers which consists of people from of age groups. It could be claimed that once again the use of English words is due to a need for self-projection of the speaker through her linguistic abilities which is indicated by the speaker’s pretentious American accent and by the fact that the chosen English phrase does not add anything to the meaning of the utterance and thus was not employed for any semantic purpose.

(3.2.3 e) Όχι ...είχε το δικό της **next... generation next** ήταν, ήταν η επόμενη γενιά.

No...have-PAST-3S the own her next...generation next be-PAST-3S, be-PAST-3S the next generation.

‘No, she had her own next...she was generation next, she was the next generation.’

Vicky Kayia (about 30, model-TV presenter) on the late night show ‘Ola 9’ on 28.04.09.

The following example is another case of promoting one’s expertise in the English language. Of course it is not possible for anyone to demonstrate expertise by using a single English word or phrase, but such occurrences indicate the goal or initial motive of the speaker. This is clear in this case by the pretentious accent of the speaker and the assumption that everybody is familiar with the definition of the word *savage*.

In more detail, this interaction takes place on an afternoon TV programme and the speaker, who is a journalist, is asked to criticize an artist's performance on stage and uses the English word *savage*, although there is a perfectly good exact Greek equivalent word. The second speaker who is also a member of this programme is surprised by the comment his colleague has just made, but not by the use of the English word, something that is obvious the grimace he makes and by what he mentions in the rest of the interaction when he claims that the artist's performance was spectacular and nothing else but that. Then, the rest of the participants talk about the artist and a few seconds later the journalist feels the need to explain the English word, by providing the Greek equivalent. The interaction ends with the presenter's humourous attempt to provide an example of the use of *savage* in the phrase *Savage Garden* which is the name of a famous band.

(3.2.3 f) A. -Εντελώς **savage** η Τάμτα βγήκε....

B. -Άκου τώρα τι βρήκε να πει ο άνθρωπος...

A. -**Savage**, το **savage** θα πει άγριος ρε⁵ παιδί μου...ξέρεις

C. -**Savage** όπως λέμε **Savage Garden**...

-Totally savage the Tamta come-PAST-3S

- Now what find-PAST-3S to say-3S the man...

-Savage, the savage will say-PRESENT-3S savage you child mine...know-2S

-Savage, like say-PRESENT-1P Savage Garden...

-‘Tamta appeared totally savage...’

-‘Listen what the man had to say (ironically)...’

-‘Savage, savage means savage my child (my friend, mate etc.)...you know’

-‘Savage, as we say Savage Garden...’

Dimirtis Papanotas (about 42) on ‘Kous-kous to mesimeri’ on 19.06.08.

⁵ Πε comes from the vocative Ancient Greek noun μωρός (voc. μωρέ) which means dull, foolish, stupid. It is often used to mean ‘friend’ or ‘mate’ or as an exclamation to mean ‘hey’ or ‘you’ (Joseph 1997).

3.2.4 Use of English due to loanword popularity

It is true that certain foreign linguistic items enjoy greater popularity due to their repetitive use by the mass media. Television, newspapers and magazines, as well as the online press have always favoured the use of specific words related to certain subjects. For example the media that revolve around the music industry often use loanwords such as *star*, *hit*, *single*, *album*, *top 10* etc. Media that promote the fashion industry frequently resort to the use of words such as *top*, *t-shirt*, *style*, *beauty* and the list goes on. This takes place in every domain with the repetition of specific subject-related words which have become increasingly popular during the last decades. Because of the popularity of such terms, speakers often assume knowledge on the part of their interlocutors and use them without providing a translation, although in certain cases speakers realize the need to switch to an unmarked code either on their own or with the suggestion of an interlocutor.

(3.2.4 a) *Είχατε πολύ καλή βοηθό, coach, προπονήτρια.*

Have-PAST-2P very good helper, coach, coach.

‘You had a very good helper, coach, coach.’

Betty Magira, (about 30) presenter of the night show ‘TV stars: Present’ on 30.11.07.

In the example provided above, the speaker who is a presenter of a TV show, whilst trying to find the appropriate lexical term to express her thoughts uses the English loanword *coach*, a word which has become increasingly recognizable from its repetitive use in the field of sports. It is the very popularity of the word itself rather than its semantic function that leads the speaker to employ it. However, the presenter immediately realizes that a respected percentage of the audience may not be familiar with the term *coach* as the viewers are not only young people who are more likely to be learners of English, and provides its corresponding translation into Greek. The reason behind this linguistic behaviour is once again that the speaker by choosing an English word employs a marked

code despite the increased popularity of the item in question and therefore she corrects herself in order to be understood by the audience (Myers-Scotton 2006: 159-61).

In other cases it is the one of the interlocutors that asks for the English phrase to be interpreted into Greek. This particular situation is illustrated in the example that follows.

- (3.2.4 b) A. *-Καταρχήν να σας ευχαριστήσουμε πάρα πολύ γιατί χθες μας δώσατε πάρα πάρα πολλά tips...τα οποία θα τα δείξουμε Πέμπτη Παρασκευή. Όμως στο 212... Tips νομίζω ότι καταλαβαίνουν όλες οι νοικοκυρές, δεν καταλαβαίνετε τι είναι tips;*
B. *-Όχι.*
A. *-Είναι συμβουλή.*

-Firstly to you thank-PAST SUBJUNCTIVE-1P very much because yesterday us give-PAST-2P very very many tips...which will them show-1P Thursday, Friday. But on 212...Tips think-PRESENT-1S that understand-PRESENT-3P all the housewives, not understand-PRESENT-2P what are tips?

-No.

- Be-PRESENT-3S tip.

-‘Firstly thank you very much because yesterday you gave us many many many tips, which will show on Thursday or Friday. But on 212...Tips..I think that all housewives understand, don’t you understand what tips are?’

-‘No.’

-‘It’s a tip.’ (συμβουλή)

Maria Enezli, (about 25) member of the panel of the programme ‘Kous kous to mesimeri’ on 02.04.08.

In the example above, the speaker uses the English word *tips* and continues her speech by asking viewers to call on a specific number when the editor of the show reminds her that

the word *tips* needs to be translated. This interaction was not recorded however, since it is assumed that the speaker receives directions through her earpiece and in this particular case it is speculated by the gestures of the speaker and the phrase: ‘Tips...I think that all housewives understand...’. By this statement the speaker justifies her linguistic choice as she assumes that the word *tip* has become so recognizable that it is expected to be understood by the vast majority of viewers. However, she clearly overestimates the linguistic abilities of housewives, especially of those of older age who may not understand the meaning of this lexical item. The speaker then turns to the other members of the programme and asks them whether they understand the meaning of *tips*, when she receives a negative response, she provides the Greek equivalent. Thus, it is clear that although English loanwords are used on a daily basis by the Greek media and Greek people, however not all age groups are familiar with the English language. This issue will be discussed later on in this study when the results from the distributed questionnaires will be thoroughly examined in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.3 Use of English Not Followed by a Translation

According to Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model, linguistic choices are made in order for the speaker to achieve specific goals (Myers-Scotton 2006: 158-9). Thus, in a number of recorded occasions the speaker does not provide the Greek interpretation of the English loanword in use as a means to fulfil his/her purposes. Nonetheless, regarding the occurrences collected for the present study, it should be argued that although interactions may only take place between two or three individuals, they are viewed by hundreds of thousands or even millions of people. Thus, a translation may not be provided, but it is a prerequisite for the message to be conveyed.

3.3.1 Use of English as a replacement of taboo words

Code-switching and English loanword use often takes place in an effort to avoid specific Greek taboo words for reasons of tact as Makri-Tsilipakou states (1999: 452). Foreign linguistic items reduce the effect that the corresponding Greek term would provoke because

they act as a distancing device from the notion itself. The following recorded utterances perfectly are indicative of this function.

(3.3.1 a) ...*εννοείς να επιλέξει gay καλλιτέχνη ή gay concept...ή να...*;

...mean-PRESENT-2S to choose-PAST-SUBJUNCTIVE-3S gay artist or gay concept...or to...?

‘...you mean to choose a gay artist or a gay concept...or to...?’

Johnny Kalimeris, (about 45) Chief executive of NET, the national Greek television a guest on the night show ‘TV Tiglon’ on 16.05.07.

In this example the speaker chooses to use the English loanword *gay* instead of the Greek equivalent because it is less of a taboo word. Although, the semantic function would be the same, the English word diminishes the taboo elements of the equivalent lexical item and is highly recognizable by the audience. Moreover, the speaker uses the word *concept* to achieve greater precision because its Greek equivalent has a number of different meanings such as notion, sense and meaning, while the English loanword has been attributed this exact semantic meaning in its Greek interpretation and in that particular domain.

(3.3.1 b) ...*ξέρετε κάτι όλες κάνουνε καμμία όμως δεν έχει τα guts να βγει και να πει: ναι κάνω.*

...know-PRESENT-2P something all-FEM do-PRESENT-3P no one but not have-PRESENT-3S the guts to come-PAST-SUBJUNCTIVE-3S and to say-PAST-SUBJUNCTIVE-3S: yes do-PRESENT-3S.

‘...you know something, they all do it, but no one has the guts to come out and say: yes I do it.’

Angela Dimitriou, (about 50) singer, a guest of the late night show ‘Ola 7even’ on 08.05.07.

In the above utterance, the speaker who is a singer, often criticized for her incorrect use of English, uses the English loanword *guts* wishing to refer to its Greek equivalent that represents the male reproductive organs. This is speculated by her gestures whilst uttering the word. In this case, the word *guts* is used in the place of the word *balls* which clearly would describe the intention of the speaker probably due to the speaker’s lack of English lexicon. Again, the Greek word is not preferred due to its taboo character in an act of respect to the interlocutors and the viewers.

3.3.2 Use of English due to loanword popularity

In the following example, the speaker, who is an anchorwoman, comments on the dynamic comeback of PASOK, the opposition party in Greece, as appears through the statements of one of its MPs Ms Diamontopoulou. The anchorwoman uses the English word *comeback* instead of the Greek equivalent *επιστροφή*. The reason behind this linguistic choice can be found in the huge impact of American media language on the Greek media language. Many Greek words are replaced on a daily basis in magazine and newspapers’ headlines, on the radio and of course on television by English words which become gradually more recognizable. This is why the speaker does not provide the Greek interpretation of the term, because she assumes that the word is comprehended by the audience and continues with her speech. Nevertheless, this perception is false, since there is a significant percentage of the population which is not familiar with English or the specific word, especially the elderly or children who have not yet acquired English as a second language and who are viewers of the News programme. In other words, the speaker by using a popular English borrowing is still using a ‘marked’ code, as although a great number of speakers may be familiar with the given item, it may not be comprehended by the vast majority of the audience which as mentioned earlier consists of people of all ages. Thus, albeit popular, the loanword is inappropriate or definitely less appropriate than the corresponding Modern Greek term.

(3.3.2 a) *Χαίρομαι που έχει ξεκινήσει στο πρόσωπο της κυρίας Διαμαντοπούλου το ΠΑΣΟΚ ένα δυναμικό comeback.*

Be-PRESENT-1S glad that start-PRESENT PERFECT-3S in the face of madam Diamantopoulou, PASOK a dynamic comeback.

‘I am glad that in the face of Ms Diamantopoulou, PASOK has started a dynamic comeback.’

Mara Zaharea, (about 42) anchorwoman on ‘ALPHA news’ on 12.11.07.

The following utterance occurred on the night news programme of a Greek television channel. The speaker, who is a model, was asked to comment on a movie premiere she had just attended. The speaker uses two loanwords to describe the film, namely *romance* and *happy end*. However, only the second phrase, that is *happy end* (which should have been ‘happy ending’) could be recognized as an English loanword, due to the fact that the intonation of *romance* as uttered by the speaker indicates a French influence rather than an English one. Although, the subsequent use of foreign lexical items demonstrates the speaker’s projection of linguistic expertise, it could nevertheless be claimed that such linguistic behaviour occurs due to specific subject-related terminology, since the phrase *happy end* has become fairly popular through the vast expansion of the American movie industry and thus it would be understood by the majority of the viewers. On the other hand, it should be argued that there is a Greek equivalent phrase which produces the same semantic effect.

(3.3.2 b) *Εγώ τη βρήκα γυναικεία ταινία, δηλαδή έχει αυτό το **romance** και το **happy end** που όλες οι γυναίκες ονειρευόμαστε.*

I it find- PAST-1S woman’s movie, that is have-PRESENT-3S this the romance and the happy end that all the woman dream-PRESENT-1P.

‘I found it a woman’s movie, that is it has the romance and the happy end that all us women dream of.’

Katia Zigouli (about 30, a model) interviewed by a journalist about a film she had just seen on ‘Star news’ on 02.07.08.

The following use of an English loanword indicates again that repetitive use of loanwords leads to the assumption that they are generally intelligible. In this case the speaker, a singer-presenter, who was the host of the Greek X-Factor talent show, whilst addressing one of the contestants he chose to express himself using the English loanword *mood*. It should also be pointed out that even though *mood* has become a word that is widely understood by those who have acquired English as a second language, however it may not be comprehended by a significant proportion of the audience who have never attempted to learn the English language, that is viewers of older age or children. Nonetheless, the speaker’s assumption of the linguistic knowledge of others is obvious as he continues to reiterate the given word without providing its translation.

As mentioned in Chapter 2 media adjust their linguistic repertoire according to the social identities they share with their viewers (Coupland 2001). Thus, in this case as well as in the others that follow, one could claim that English is used in order to create globalized identities or so as to attract viewers of that status, that is viewers who are fluent in English, hence mostly the youth. Nevertheless, it is believed that although commercial channels which have been mostly used in this project, prefer younger audiences as they constitute the target groups for advertising, they would not ignore older age groups which are also ‘consumers’ (Androutsopoulos 2007: 211). Finally, it is important to add that all occurrences are part of spontaneous speech and not of a planned scenario; therefore linguistic choices primarily depend on the speaker and not on language policies.

(3.3.2 c) *Μήπως μπήκες πολύ στο mood αυτό; Μήπως μπήκες πολύ σε αυτό το mood;*

Maybe get in-PAST-2S a lot in the mood this? Maybe get in-PAST-2S a lot in this the mood?

‘Is it maybe that you were a lot in that mood? Is it maybe that you were a lot in that mood?’

Sakis Rouvas (about 38, singer and TV presenter) on ‘X-Factor’ (the presenter) on 05.12.08.

Another instance of English loanword use due to the high popularity of the loanword in use is the following. The speaker was a guest on a popular late night show with the discussion revolving around swine flu which was a topic of extreme importance at that time. The host asked the speaker whether she loved pigs and in her reply, which is the utterance that follows, she used the English loanword *vegetarians*. This is due to the fact that the word ‘vegetarian’ has become fairly popular during the last decade and although there is an exact corresponding Greek item, the English loanword is preferred as it is associated with beginning of this nutritional trend which occurred in the U.S.

(3.3.2 d) *Αν τα αγαπάγαμε θα ήμασταν vegetarians.*

If them love-PRESENT PERFECT- 1P will be-PAST-1P vegetarians.

‘If we loved them, we would be vegetarians.’

Vicky Kayia (about 30, model-TV presenter) on the late night show ‘Ola 9’ on 28.04.09.

The following utterance took place immediately after the occurrence 3.2.2 a, where the speaker had attributed her use of loanwords to her love for the English language. A few seconds later the presenter uses another English word and again justifies her choice. However, she does not provide an interpretation for the English loanword she uses, namely

wild, as she assumes the viewers' knowledge which is due to the high levels of popularity of the given item.

(3.3.2 e) *Έχεις κάτι λίγο πιο **wild**, αφού μπήκαμε στο Αγγλικό αυτό...ας το συνεχίσουμε.*

Have-PRESENT-2S something a bit more wild, since enter-PAST-1P in the English this...let it continue-PAST-SUBJUNCTIVE-1P.

‘You look a bit wilder, since we began with this English (thing)...let’s continue it.’

Eleni Menegaki, (about 38) presenter of the morning show “Kafes me tin Eleni” on 21.04.08.

3.3.3 Use of English as a medium of promoting the speaker’s linguistic abilities

As was seen earlier in the present study in some cases loanword use and code-switching only occur for self-promotion reasons, in order for the speaker to demonstrate the possession of expert knowledge as Makri-Tsilipakou correctly points out (1999: 454). In this part, the occurrences belonging to category will be examined and more specifically those which are not followed by a translation. It is of significant importance to mention again that in this type of English use the speaker imitates a British or American accent in an attempt to appear as native or native-like. The following example is indicative of this category where an English expression is used instead of a perfectly fine Greek proverb (i.e. ‘όποιος βιάζεται σκοντάφτει’ which means ‘he who goes fast, stumbles’).

(3.3.3 a) *Είναι αυτό που λένε, **if you wanna do something, do it fast**, μην το σκεφτείς και πολύ...*

Be-PRESENT-3S what that say-PRESENT-3P, if you wanna do something do it fast, not it think-NEGATIVE IMP-2S and a lot...

‘It is what they say, if you wanna do something, do it fast, don’t think it through...’

Lampis Livieratos, (about 40, singer) guest on the morning show ‘Kafes me tin Eleni’ on 15.04.08.

In the next example, the speaker, a TV presenter/actor appeared as a guest on the programme ‘TV weekend’ mainly focusing on media related issues as the title implies, where she was asked to comment on her life-partner’s performance as an actor on a TV series. The speaker wishing to demonstrate that his performance is limited and therefore should not be criticized uses the English phrase *that’s it*. Whilst trying to demonstrate her membership of the elite community of the linguistically knowledgeable, the speaker assumes that all English words and phrases are or should be comprehended by the audience which nevertheless signifies lack of respect from the part of the speaker for the viewers.

(3.3.3 b) *Ακόμα...δεν έχουμε δει κάτι το... παραπάνω, πώς να στο πω, δηλαδή ...κάνει ένα δικηγόρο, έχει πει δυο ατάκες δικηγορίστικες και **that’s it**.*

Still...not See-PRESENT PERF-1P something...more, how to to you say-PAST-SUBJUNCTIVE-1S, that is...do-PRESENT-3S a lawyer, say-PRESENT PERF-3S two lines lawyer-like and that’s it.

‘Still, we haven’t seen anything more, how to say it to you, that is...he does a lawyer, he has said two lawyer-like lines and that’s it.’

Sofia Aliberti (about 42, actor/presenter) on the afternoon weekend programme ‘TV Weekend’ on 05.04.08.

(3.3.3 c) *Μαρκέλλα **hold that thought**, μισό λεπτάκι.*

Markella hold that thought, half minute.

‘Markella hold that thought, just a minute (half in this case)’.

Nikos Moutsinas, (about 32) one of the hosts of the morning show ‘Proinos Kafes’ on 07.10.08.

In the example presented above, the speaker uses the English phrase *hold that thought* while on the phone talking to a viewer, right before he takes another call in order for a two-persons game to be played on air. In an effort to demonstrate her expertise in the English language, the host of the show uses the aforementioned English phrase, nevertheless incorrectly. ‘Hold that thought’ is only a shorter version of ‘hold on a moment, and remember what you were about to say’. In this particular case, the viewer was not about to say anything and the host only wanted the viewer to hold, so he could interact with the other viewer who was on the other phone line. This is clearly indicated by the speaker’s following phrase ‘just a minute (half a minute)’. Furthermore, it is obvious that the speaker’s code-switching utterance is not one of the most well-known phrases to the non-English speaking world, verified by the mistaken use of the speaker himself. Finally, such instances of erroneous use of English, solely driven by the vanity of the speakers to be perceived as intellectuals or capable bilinguals, are plainly oxymoronic in the very etymological sense of the term (oxys= sharp, moros=stupid). In other words, in an attempt to appear sharp, they end up being perceived as foolish by those who are proficient speakers of the English language.

The next occurrence is spoken by a TV presenter who is known for her habitual use of English words, always followed by a pretentious native-like accent. In this case the presenter is giving advice to her guest about her future steps in the domain of television and suggests that she should avoid taking part in anything related to gossip because she is not the kind of *gossip girl*. However, although the presenter is known for her constant use of English, in this case her effort to sound as native as possible is obvious by her stumbling

voice in her attempt to pronounce in native way the combination of the phonemes /g/ and /3/ in *girl* which resulted in ‘g-g-girl’.

(3.3.3 d) *Δεν είσαι το είδος του gossip girl...*

Not be-PRESENT-2S the kind of gossip girl...

‘You are not the kind of gossip girl...’

Natalia Germanou (about 42), hostess of the weekend morning programme ‘Mes tin kali hara’ on 13.12.08.

In another occurrence, the same speaker uses the well-known English phrase *last but not least*, to remind the viewers that they could win many prizes thanks to the cooperation of the morning show with a certain company. The speaker nevertheless does not provide the interpretation of the English phrase which may not be intelligible by the audience of the programme which consists of viewers from all age groups according to the AGB Nielsen Audience Measurement company, including housewives, young children and older people who do not have any or the required English speaking or comprehending abilities. Once again it is clear that the hostess of the television programme assumes knowledge and ignores the potential linguistic gap that she may cause. The conscious choice of a marked code demonstrates the attempt of the speaker to appear linguistically educated and highly proficient in English disregarding the linguistic boundaries of her audience. Thus, this could be explained as a need for self-promotion of one’s linguistic abilities or as an overestimated view of the Greeks’ linguistic abilities.

(3.3.3 e) *Last but not least να μην ξεχάσουμε να σας πούμε ότι σήμερα...*

Last but not least to not forget-PAST SUBJUNCTIVE-1P to you tell-PRESENT-1S that today...

‘Last but not least not to forget to tell you that today...’

Natalia Germanou (about 42), hostess of the weekend morning programme ‘Mes tin kali hara’ on 28.02.09.

The next instance of loanword use occurred on a late night show. The hosts were discussing the music awards which are organized on an annual basis by a Greek music channel. The presenter of the awards was the guest of the show and was asked to comment on a famous Greek singer’s rumoured absence from the event. In order to demonstrate the wish of the organizing channel for the participation of the aforementioned singer, he refers to a list of activities she could take part in and he uses the English word *whatever* to indicate that her attendance at the awards could take any form. The speaker’s need to demonstrate membership of a certain linguistic elite is clear by the unsuccessful imitation of an American native accent and by the fact that he chooses to use an English word which does not make an essential contribution to the meaning whilst there is a Greek exact equivalent. Moreover, it should be noted that this specific loanword is often used with negative connotations indicating indifference and apathy, which could cause ambiguity and raise communication issues.

(3.3.3 f) *...εμείς σαφώς και θέλουμε την Άννα Βίσση να είναι στα βραβεία και κάθε χρόνο και να τραγουδάει και να εμφανίζεται και να δίνει βραβείο και **whatever**...*

...we of course and want-PRESENT-1P the Anna Vissi to be-PRESENT-SUBJUNCTIVE-3S in awards and every year and to sing-PRESENT-SUBJUNCTIVE-3S and to appear-PRESENT-SUBJUNCTIVE-3S and to give-PRESENT-3S and whatever...

‘...we certainly want Anna Vissi to be present at the awards every year and we want her to sing, to appear and to give an award and whatever (else)...’

Themis Georgantas (about 37, a TV presenter) on the night show ‘TV Tigklon’ on 23.06.08.

The habitual use of English is fairly easy to be pointed out when there is more than one English loanword occurrence in a person’s short period of speech. This appears to be the case of the individual presented in the previous example. The following instance derives from the same TV show and demonstrates the irony of language contact phenomena which move in continuing circles. One of the hosts of the show comments on someone’s unpleasant experience of swallowing a toothpick and the guest uses the English word *tragic*, so as to describe his feelings under a potential similar circumstance. The irony however lies in the fact that the lexical unit *tragic* is not of English origin, but of Greek. It is actually a Greek loanword to the English language which has undergone certain phonological and minor morphological changes, but which is still recognizable as a Greek word by native Greek speakers. Thus, what is the reason for using an English word which is in fact a Greek loanword while addressing a Greek audience and not using the equivalent word of the initial donor language, that is *τραγικό*? Self-promotion appears to be the sole reason.

(3.3.3 g) -...*αλλά σκέψου τώρα να κατεβάζεις μια μπουκιά και να έχει μια οδοντογλυφίδα καρφωμένη μέσα...*

-*Tragic...*

...but think-PRESENT-IMPERATIVE-2S now to take down-PRESENT-SUBJUNCTIVE-2S a bite and to have-PRESENT-SUBJUNCTIVE-1S a toothpick nailed in...

-Tragic...

-‘...but think about it, swallowing a bite which has a toothpick in it...’

-‘Tragic...’

Themis Georgantas (about 37, a TV presenter) a guest on the night show ‘TV Tigklon’ on 23.06.08.

(3.3.3 h) *Και έπεισα τον εαυτό μου εγώ δεν είμαι **material girl** και θα τα ξαναπάρω...*

And convince-PAST-1S the self mine I not be-PRESENT-1S material girl and
will them retake-1S...

‘And I convinced myself that I am not a material girl and that I will regain
them...’

Anna Vissi (about 50, a singer) on the night show ‘Ola 9’ on 30.06.09.

In the above example, the speaker who is one of the most well-known artists in Greece was a guest at a popular night show where she was discussing with the host the incident of the singer’s wardrobe seizure as a result of a legal dispute she had with a production company. Thus, the speaker uses the English phrase *material girl* to refer to the fact that she did not care about clothing and any other superficial matters. It is true that there is no Greek exact equivalent phrase in the form of literal translation of the given lexical unit, however the speaker could have paraphrased that or used a Greek word that appropriately delivers the message she wished to convey. Her choice to resort to an English phrase which may not be understood by a significant number of viewers, especially those of older age, indicates her need to appear a member of the elite of the linguistically educated. This assumption is supported by the following phrase, uttered only a few minutes after the first one.

(3.3.3 i) *..επειδή έχω πως το λένε χιού...**sense of humour** που λένε το αντιμετώπισα...*

...because I have-PRESENT-1S who it call-PRESENT-3P hu...sense of humour
that call-PRESENT-3P it deal-PAST-1S...

‘...because I have how do they call it...hu...sense of humour as they call it, I dealt with it...’

Anna Vissi (about 50, a singer) on the night show ‘Ola 9’ on 30.06.09.

In this instance the speaker initially opted for the English loanword ‘humour’ which has been morphologically integrated into the Greek language and has been a part of the Greek dictionary as it is a core borrowing and does not have a Greek equivalent. This initial choice of the speaker is evident by the half uttered *χιού...* However, the speaker instead of using this widely understood loanword, she employs the English phrase ‘sense of humour’ which would be directly translated in Greek as *αίσθηση του χιούμορ*. The fact that she purposefully uses an English phrase which would not be completely comprehended by the wider audience which according to AGB Nielsen audience measurement company consists of all age groups, demonstrates the strong need of the speaker to promote her language skills. Additionally, the speaker’s unwillingness to provide the audience with a translation of the English phrase shows that she assumes knowledge.

3.3.4 Use of English as a medium of promoting the speaker’s sense of humour

In certain cases, code-switching or loanword occurrences are used for the sake of humour or sarcasm (Makri-Tsilipakou 1999: 453) in an effort of the speakers to promote themselves as humorous or entertaining. Their humorous function is intensified by the accompanying deliberate or not, strong Greek accent of English or by the unsuccessful imitation of a native English accent, which however is distinguished from the category of ‘use of English as a medium of promoting the speaker’s linguistic abilities’ by the playfulness in the speaker’s tone of voice. Moreover, the speaker’s utterance is often followed by a self-sarcastic comment on the use of English.

In the following example, a presenter of a morning show who has referred a number of times in the past to his inability to speak English, asks his co-presenter to translate the phrase ‘marriage proposal’ into English in order to introduce a video on a marriage

proposal. After acquiring the lexical item, he produces a full English sentence ('This is the very nice proposal') which however is incomplete. The speaker's intention to entertain the audience by his inability to speak properly in English is obvious by the Greek accent with which the phrase was uttered. Also, the humorous character of the utterance is clear by the fact that the co-host of the show immediately mocks the first speaker by producing the same sentence in an ironic tone and continues by commenting on the use of English by the phrase 'we lost it all' implying the loss of meaning and syntax or even the loss of his co-presenter's mental ability.

(3.3.4 a) A. -Πώς λέγεται η πρόταση γάμου στα Αγγλικά;

B. - **Proposal.**

A. - **Proposal. This is the very nice proposal...**

B. -**The very nice proposal...τα χάσαμε όλα.**

-How call-PRESENT-PASSIVE-3S the proposal marriage in English?

-Proposal.

-Proposal. This is the very nice proposal...

-The very nice proposal...they lose-PAST-1P everything.

-‘How is the marriage proposal called in English?’

-‘Proposal.’

-‘Proposal. This is the very nice proposal...’

-‘The very nice proposal...we lost it all (implying meaning, syntax or even brains).’

Grigoris Arnaoutoglou (about 37) and Nikos Moutsinas (about 32), presenters of the morning programme ‘Omorfos Kosmos to Proi’ on 24.06.08.

The next example is characterized by the misuse of English and the self-sarcasm of the speaker. The hostess of an afternoon TV programme is trying to convince the viewers to take part in a competition that may award them with an expensive car. To this purpose, she

uses the English phrase '*it's too late my friend*' although the time sequence would suggest the use of future tense instead of present ('it will be too late my friend'), and immediately comments on the use of English by the ironic: 'to say it in Greek' in order to entertain the viewers. It could be argued that this phrase 'to say it Greek' although literally false and clearly uttered for the sake of irony, however it is partially true, as it reveals the extent to which Greek is influenced by English and the fact that the use of English words is considered a part of everyday interactions of the many Greek speakers, thus a part of the Greek language. Finally, this ironic phrase could function as a justification for the use of English by the speaker. That is to say, by commenting on the non-Greek nature of the English phrase '*it's too late my friend*' and on the extensive use of English by Greeks, the speaker in a way justifies her own use of an English phrase, instead of the Greek equivalent, by following the habits of the majority.

(3.3.4 b) ...διότι την άλλη Παρασκευή, ***it's too late my friend***, αυτό θα σας πω μόνο... για να το πω και ελληνικά...

...because the next Friday, it's too late my friend, this will you say-1S only to it say-PAST-SUBJUNCTIVE-1S and Greek...

'...because next Friday, it's too late my friend, I will only say this to you... to say it in Greek...'

Christina Lampiri, (about 42) presenter of the afternoon programme 'Super Star' on 04.07.08.

The instance of loanword use that follows is similar to the one that was analyzed above. The speaker uses the English word *juicy* which is preceded by the statement 'as they would say here in Greece'. Of course in this case too, the irony is clear as well as the sarcastic tone of the speaker who is well known for her good sense of humour, however as was stressed earlier, this ironic phrase could also refer to the broad use of English words by

Greek speakers and in this sense it could be used to explain the use of a foreign element by the speaker.

(3.3.4 c) *Μπορεί και να είναι ό,τι ...δηλαδή πιο -όπως θα έλεγαν και εδώ στην Ελλάδα- juicy έχω δει τον τελευταίο καιρό γιατί...*

Can and to be-3S whatever that is most as will say-IMPERFECT-3P and here in Greece juicy see-PRESENT PERF-1S the last time because...

‘It can be the...that is... the most -as they would say here in Greece- juicy (thing) I have seen lately because...’

Katerina Zarifi, (about 32) one of the panellists on the morning programme ‘Kafes me tin Eleni’ on 03.04.08.

The next occurrence took place in an afternoon programme and demonstrates once again the conscious use of English loanwords. In this particular example the hostess of the programme uses the English phrase *too much* to refer to the excessive working schedule of an artist. However, immediately after the use of the English phrase, the speaker comments ironically ‘as they say in perfect Greek’. Thus, although the initial reason for employing a foreign phrase could be the need to promote one’s linguistic abilities, the ironic comment by the speaker adds a humorous note to the linguistic behavior and thus the need to promote one’s humorous personality becomes obvious. This mostly derives from the fact that the speaker is not only sarcastic towards others for using lexical items of foreign origin, but also towards herself for the use of *too much*.

(3.3.4 d) *Πολλοί είπαν ότι ο Σάκης Ρουβάς με αυτή την επιλογή του επειδή έχει και το μαγαζί, θα έχει και τη Eurovision και επέλεξε να κάνει και το X-Factor ότι είναι λίγο **too much** που λένε σε άπταιστα ελληνικά...*

Many say-PAST-3P that the Sakis Rouvas with this the choice his because have-PRESENT-3S and the club. Will have-PRESENT-3S and the Eurovision and choose-PAST-3S to do-PAST-SUBJUNCTIVE-3S and the X-Factor, that be-PRESENT-3S a bit too much, that say-PRESENT-3P in perfect Greek...

‘Many people said that Sakis Rouvas with his choice...because of his appearance at a night club, because of his participation in Eurovision and because he chose to take part in X-Factor as well, that it is a bit too much, as they say in perfect Greek...’

Katerina Karavatou, (about 35) hostess of the afternoon programme ‘Kous kous to mesimeri’ (date unknown).

In the last example that follows, the speaker, a young TV presenter welcomes a journalist to her show live from a beach in Athens and uses an English phrase accompanied with a playful English accent in order to demonstrate her surprise at his appearance. It should be argued that this solely aims to entertain the audience and thus to make the speaker appear as entertaining in the eyes of the viewers, because it is certain that his presence on the show was scheduled, something that happens in the vast majority of live shows in Greek television. Moreover, it is important to note that the speaker does not translate the English phrase *is that you?* into Greek, assuming that the audience has acquired English to a basic degree or is familiar with the basic lexicon and syntactic structures of the English language.

(3.3.4 e) *Aaaaa! Γιώργο...is that you?*

Ahhhhh! Yiorgo...be-PRESENT-3S that you?

‘Ahhhhh! Yiorgo...is that you?’

Marietta Hrousala, (about 26) presenter of the morning show ‘I Ellada pezei’ on 03.07.08

After having presented the various categories of English use on the Greek television in an attempt to render the reasons for the use of English lexical items, it should be argued once again that the above categorization is only a speculation of the speakers' motives and needs based on the occurrences' recurrent features. Although one or more sociolinguistic reasons could be attributed to each utterance, the present study attempts to limit the analysis of each instance under a single category employing the categorization of Makri-Tsilipakou (1999) on the basis of the utterances' most prominent characteristics. It is certain that no definite conclusions can be drawn on the reasons that led speakers to the use of language contact phenomena, unless there is a clear indication by the speaker himself.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter a number of code-switching and loanword use occurrences were presented and divided into two basic categories: those followed by a Greek translation and those which were not. Some of the utterances were employed as a means to avoid certain taboo words, others to achieve greater precision or due to the popularity of the foreign item and finally some were used as a medium of self-promotion either with the speakers demonstrating their English speaking abilities or their good sense of humour. Independently of the reasons and social forces that led to their use, it can be stated with certainty by the number of the examples presented in this paper that English language use is an existing phenomenon on Greek television and concomitantly in the Greek society.

Chapter 4: The Attitudes of the Public

This chapter will examine the methods used for the investigation and processing of the Greek public's attitudes towards the use of English loanwords on television, as well as the results produced by the participants of this survey. Firstly, the method employed for questionnaire interviewing will be presented and the structure of the questionnaire will be analyzed. Moreover, light will be shed on the methods employed for the processing of data through the use of SPSS. In subsection 4.2 all the results that were found to be statistically significant will be provided together with results which did not meet the required statistical criteria, but which still play an important role in this study. All results will be categorized on the basis of four different groups according to the age, English proficiency level, gender and educational status of the informants.

4.1 Methods

4.1.1 Using questionnaires

The attitudes of the Greek public towards the use of English loanwords in the Greek media and their influence on the Greek language were elicited through the medium of questionnaires. Questionnaires were selected as opposed to other methods because they are a cost and time-efficient tool; they do not require any personal relations with the participants and therefore they are less biased by the interviewer than interviews (Gillham 2000: 7). Moreover, all questionnaires were filled out anonymously, a procedure which contributes to the elicitation of more honest and revealing answers (Oppenheim 1966: 37) and which meets the criteria of ethical standards in the research field. That is to say, the anonymous character of the questionnaires gives the participants the opportunity to present their views without the fear of being criticized, thus greater honesty is achieved and no ethical considerations arise since there is no need for the protection of personal data. For the purposes of identification, all the questionnaires were accordingly given numbers (Oppenheim 1966: 37).

The research was conducted during the summer months of 2007 in a small town of Greece, Edessa, and questionnaires were distributed in public sector institutions, cafes and restaurants. The distribution did not occur as a result of personal preference, but randomly in all the above locations. Respondents were mainly categorized into four age groups: 16-25, 26-35, 36-55 and 56 and above. This categorization was attributed to the fact that people in each of the above groups have different life experiences and therefore in some cases different attitudes and ideas. For example the first group is assumed to mainly consist of people who are students at a school or university level, who have limited or no working experience and who have not been married yet or have children. The second group is believed to contain in the vast majority of cases people who have graduated or who have not studied at any form of higher education, who have been working for a number of years and who have recently created families of their own. The third group is thought to consist of people who have developed their professional careers to a great extent, who have brought up children and whose families play an important role in their decision-making process in terms of everyday life issues and more significant subjects as well. Finally, the last category is estimated to include members of society who are at the dusk of their professional lives, who have adult children and possibly grandchildren and who are of lower educational level considering the fact that they were born prior to 1952, at a time when the living standards were poor due to continuous war periods (Second World War 1939-1945, Greek Civil War 1945-1949) and thus educational opportunities at a university level were rare. Regarding the English acquisition levels of the different group members, it is believed that the first two groups will present higher levels of acquisition than the last two due to the fact that English language learning has gained more popularity in the last three decades and is considered an integral part of the Greek educational system. Because of these differences in terms of education and proficiency of English, not only between but also within groups, respondents were also categorized in terms of educational level and degree of self-reported English language proficiency, as well as gender. However, the main analysis of data focuses on variations between different age groups and to this purpose a specific number of participants was selected. To further explain the above, although more than 600 questionnaires were collected, only 400 were used for the purpose

of this study in order to have an equal number of male and female participants in all age groups, in other words 100 members for each group consisting of 50 men and 50 women.

In order for the present project to be as accurate and precise as possible, a pilot questionnaire was firstly constructed and distributed to 25 people who provided feedback on it. Subsequently and following the comments of the first participants, another questionnaire was constructed, distributed and collected and afterwards translated into English. Mostly closed type questions were employed in this study, in other words questions in which informants are offered a choice of different replies (Oppenheim 1966: 40). Closed type questions are 'easier and quicker to answer' (Oppenheim 1996: 43), thus respondents are more eager to complete a set of closed type question than one consisting of open questions. Moreover, they are easier to process and computerize and they produce less differentiated responses which contribute to a more meaningful comparison (Foddy 1993: 128). If we consider the large sample that was interviewed -400 people- for this study, it is obvious that open type questions would require a massive amount of time to be processed and analyzed. Nonetheless, one question of both of closed and open type was included in the survey offering the opportunity to the informants to express their own views in case their opinion was not represented by the given alternatives. However, it should be mentioned that more open-type questions were employed in the pilot questionnaire.

Overall, participants were asked to respond to the fifteen parts of the questionnaire which can all be found in the translated version of the questionnaire in the Appendix. The first question was regarding the gender of the participants whilst the second the age group in which they belonged. Respondents were given four options of age groups as was mentioned earlier. In the third question respondents were provided with 13 English words, all core borrowings, that is words that have an exact Greek equivalent. Participants were asked whether they use each of these words 'always', 'often', 'sometimes', 'rarely' or 'never'. Frequency is an objective issue, as apart from 'always' and 'never' one's idea of 'sometimes' may differ to that of another. However, it is speculated that there will not be a significant variation in the responses of the participants that would crucially affect the results of the study. In the fourth question respondents were given five pairs of words, each

consisting of an English word and its Greek corresponding lexical item and they were asked to choose which of the two they prefer to use. The fifth question was regarding the participants' frequency of watching television. The available options were: 'everyday', 'often', 'rarely' and 'never'. The question that followed was aiming at eliciting responses about the informants' views on the number of English words people use on Greek television. The options offered to them were: 'very many English words or phrases', 'many English words or phrases', 'some English words or phrases', 'a few English words or phrases', 'none English word or phrase' or the 'I don't know' option. Moreover, respondents were asked to explain the reason for the use of English words by television personalities. They were provided with five options: 'because everybody uses English nowadays', 'it is a common phenomenon', 'because they want to impress with their linguistic skills', 'because there are no equivalent Greek words for some notions', 'I don't know', or 'any other answer'. Of course in this question all respondents who had previously claimed that people on Greek TV do not use any English words or phrases were asked not to fill in this section. In question eight, participants were provided with a sentence, and seven adjectives. The sentence was the following: 'TV personalities that use English words on Greek TV are...'. They were asked to circle all the adjectives that fit in this phrase according to their views. The adjectives were: 'trendy', 'stupid', 'arrogant', 'intelligent', 'educated', 'show-offs' and 'indifferent'⁶. These adjectives resulted as the most popular from a question used in the pilot questionnaire where respondents were asked to comment on the personalities of people who employ English words on Greek television. In the ninth part of the questionnaire, informants were given six statements and were asked to select if they 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'are uncertain', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' with each statement. The statements were the following: 'Greek TV personalities act as role models and should not use English words', 'I don't like when English is used on TV', 'people can use English words but not on television', 'English words make the Greek language richer', 'I consider the use of the English language on television educative and instructive', 'it is normal for someone to use English words on television'. In question ten, participants were asked whether the use of English language on TV programmes can

⁶ 'Indifferent' is used as an exact translation of the Greek word 'αδιάφοροι' meaning that those particular personalities do not cause any interest to the participants.

influence the lexicon of the Greek public and they were presented with three options, namely: 'yes, to a significant degree', 'yes but to a small degree' or 'no'. Question eleven aimed at eliciting more specific views on the age of the people whose lexicon can be influenced by the use of English on television. Respondents had to select amongst four options: 'all independently of their age', 'adolescents', 'children' or 'no one'. In the question that followed informants were asked whether Greek TV personalities should: 'use English words and phrase if they want to', 'try to reduce the use of English words and phrases' or 'stop using English words or phrases'. In the thirteen part of the questionnaire respondents were once again provided with a number of statements, four at this point, and were asked to state whether 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'are uncertain', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' with the following statements: 'the use of English language by television and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language', 'the use of English by television can alter the Greek language to a great extent but can never threaten it', 'the use of English can alter the Greek language to a small extent but can never threaten it', 'people should stop using English words before it is too late'. Question fourteen was regarding the participants' educational status and included options such as: 'primary school graduate', 'junior high school graduate', 'high school graduate', 'university (public or private) or technical school student/graduate', 'master's degree student/graduate'. This question was purposefully placed at the end of the questionnaire, so as not to generate feelings of discomfort to the participants before completing the questionnaire due to its personal character (Oppenheim 1966: 37). The last question was concerning the respondents' status of English proficiency and the options provided were the following: 'proficient', 'very good', 'good', 'not good but I can take part in an everyday interaction', 'I cannot speak but I understand', 'I cannot speak or understand'. Finally, informants were asked to provide their views on how easy they found the questionnaire's completion as well as their comments.

4.1.2 Using SPSS

All the data have been processed through SPSS, a computer programme which generates an advanced statistical analysis of data, including tests which lend support to the statistical significance of the findings. The present study contains solely categorical data, that is

nominal and not numerical data with a given interval rate, thus only non-parametric tests were used in order to test the accuracy and significance of data. These non-parametric tests were as follows: factor analysis which is used to test the correlation of variables and factors, the chi-square test which examines the relationship between two categorical variables and loglinear analysis which examines the relationship between three categorical variables. The initial hypothesis for this project was that: older age groups' attitudes towards the use of English on television will be stricter than those of younger age groups. This is a one-tailed hypothesis because it suggests a specific outcome, that older age groups will have stricter and more conservative attitudes towards the use of English on television.

Factor analysis revealed that the most significant variable which correlates higher with others is the age factor. Based on this fact the majority of the results presented in this study will primarily focus on the variation of attitudes in terms of participants' membership into different age groups. Nonetheless, other variables which have also generated statistically meaningful results will be examined such as gender, English language acquisition level and educational level so as to discover their effect on informants' attitudes.

Unfortunately, loglinear analysis which examines the relation between more than two variables did not generate statistically significant results for any given combination of the existing variables due to the limited number of responses in the case of some options and thus failed to meet the required criteria.

However, in order to examine the relationship between two variables at a time, the most reliable statistical test for the analysis of categorical data was employed. That is Pearson's chi-square test which examines the potential relationship between two variables by comparing the observed frequencies of certain categories to the expected frequencies as if they would occur by chance (Field 2005: 682). An alternative choice which however exists within the chi-square analysis on SPSS is the likelihood ratio statistic which is preferred when samples are small. In this case the sample is 400 people, thus chi-square was the best possible choice. The chi-square test does not require normally distributed data, nevertheless it has two basic assumptions that should not be violated. Firstly, that each

person or entity participates only once in the contingency table, in other words a repeated measures design could not be tested by a chi-square test. The second assumption is that the expected frequencies should be greater than 5. In some cases 20% of expected frequencies under 5 is allowed, but there is the danger of losing statistical power. In any case even in large samples, expected frequencies should not be less than 1 (Field 2005: 686). In order for the data to be statistically significant and for the variables to be related in some way, the significance value should particularly small, that is less than .05, which is interpreted as a 5% possibility of the results occurring by chance.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Age groups

Turning now to the results of the chi-square test, we will examine the effect of age on the attitudes towards the use of English language on television and in general. The correlations of variables that will be presented involve those which produced statistically meaningful results as well as a limited number of correlations which may not have high statistical significance but which play a vital role for the analysis of other relationships.

Table 1 Age groups

	16-25	26-35	36-55	56 and above
Number of participants	100	100	100	100

4.2.1.1 The use of the word 'super'

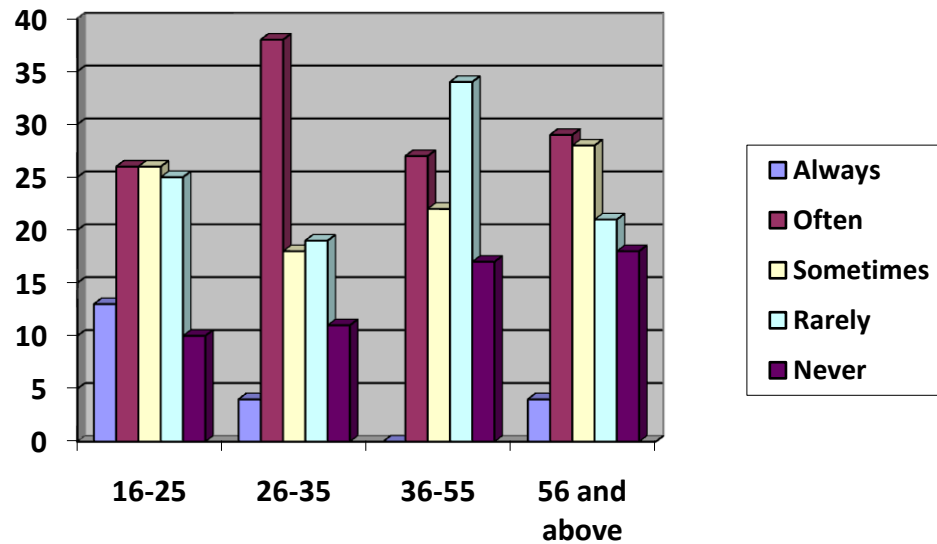
As was discussed earlier, participants were provided with 13 English core borrowings and they were asked to state whether they use these words: 'always', 'often', 'sometimes', 'rarely' or 'never'. All these lexical items were selected based on their occurrence in magazines, as observed in previous research conducted for the purpose of a master's dissertation (Tatsioka 2006) and were chosen due to their repetitive use in order to examine

the variations between the different groups. Some of these words were found to be significantly correlated with the variable of age. The first loanword that generated statistically significant results is the word 'super'. The significance value was high (sig=.003 that is $p<.05$) and there were no expected frequencies under 5.

The results of this relation revealed important information about the differences between younger and older age groups. In greater detail, 13% of the first group, 4% of the second group, 0% of the third group and 4% of the last group claimed that they always use the given lexical item. Thus, it is the youngest group that repeatedly uses this word, whilst the other groups present a limited number of responses. With regard to the second option, 26% of the first group, 38% of the second group, 27% of the third group and 29% of the last group stated that they often use the word 'super'. It is clear that apart from the second group, in all groups there does not appear to be a significant variation. The same is true in the case of the third option 'sometimes' which was chosen by 26%, 28%, 22% and 28% of each group. Twenty-five percent of the first group, 19% of the second, 34% of the third and 21% of the oldest group stated that they use the aforementioned loanword rarely. In this case it is the second oldest group, in other words the group ages 36-55 that uses the word more rarely than the other participants. Nonetheless, it is the final category 'never' that demonstrated an increasing tendency to select this option as we move from the youngest to the oldest group. To further analyze this, 10% of the first group, 11% of the second, 17% of the third and 18% the last group argued that they never use the given lexical item.

From all the above it can be concluded, that in their majority all groups appear to use the word 'super' frequently, except from third group informants who in their vast majority state that they use the specific cultural borrowing rarely. The results of the last option indicate that it is the older two groups which do not employ or employ less this particular word. This is to be highly expected if we consider the fact that the last two groups consist of people who have acquired English to a relative smaller extent compared with the younger groups, as will be shown later in this paper in the examination of the age variable together with that of English language acquisition level.

Figure 4.1 The use of the word ‘super’



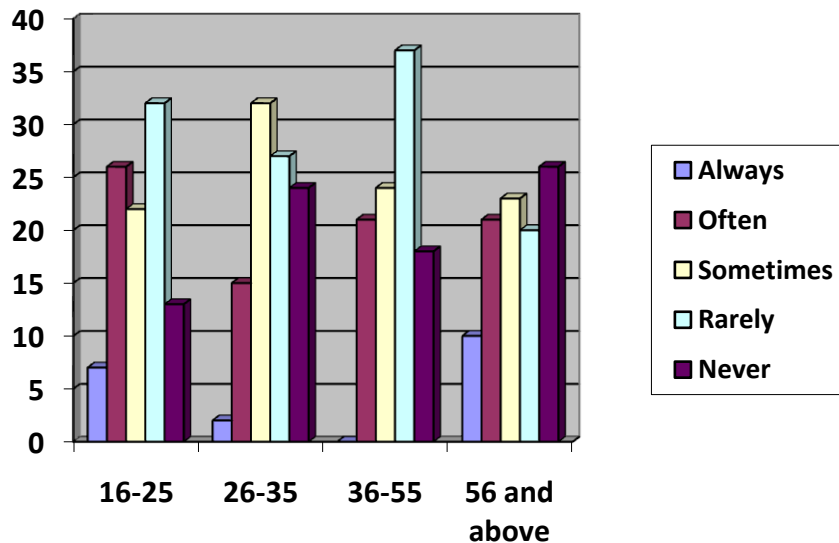
4.2.1.2 The use of the word ‘star’

Another correlation that was found to be significant was that of the age variable with the variable that examines the use of the word ‘star’. There were 20% of expected counts under 5 with the minimum expected count being 4.75. A 20% of expected frequencies below 5 is acceptable when samples are large as mentioned earlier, which is the case for the present study, as long as all expected counts are greater than the required 1. The correlation was highly significant as the significance value was .004.

The data yielded results similar to that of the previous correlation. In other words, older group’s informants rendered the highest percentage of those who admitted that they never employ the specific lexical item. Nevertheless, the oldest group also appeared to present the highest percentage of those who claim that they always use the loanword, which is contradictory to what was seen earlier, but still possible. However, it was the third group which claimed in its vast majority that they use the word rarely. In particular, 7% of the first group, only 2% of the second group, no one from the third group and a surprising 10% claimed that they always use the word ‘star’. Regarding the second option ‘often’, 26% of the first group, 15% of the second group, 21% of the third group and an equal number of the older group favoured this choice. Moreover, 22% of the youngest group, 32% of the

second group, 24% of the third group and 23% of the older group state that they use the aforementioned lexical item sometimes. As far as the fourth option is concerned, as was mentioned earlier it is the third group that presents the highest percentage with 37% of its members selecting this category, whilst 32% of the youngest group, 27% of the second and 20% of the last group claimed the same. Finally, there was a limited, but significant number of respondents from all age groups who stated that they never use the word ‘star’. Thirteen percent of the first group, 24% of the second group, 18% of the third group and 26% of the last group favoured this option. This signifies that the second and the fourth group tend to use the given lexical unit less than the other two. Nevertheless, taking into account the large percentage of people belonging to the older group who selected the ‘always’ option, it is clear that the results are rather contradictory and we cannot proceed to safe and accurate conclusions. What can be claimed however is that it is the third group which appears to use the given lexical item only rarely.

Figure 4.2 The use of the word ‘star’



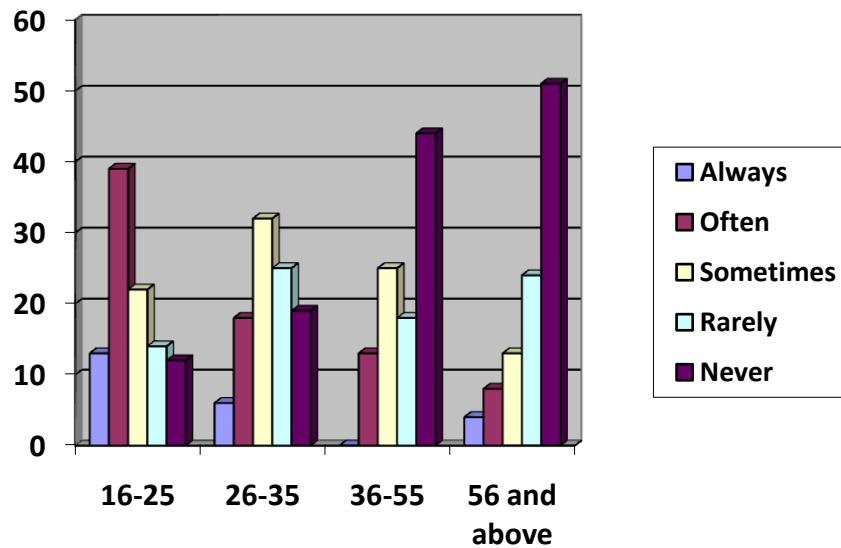
4.2.1.3 The use of the word ‘trendy’

The next statistically significant relation is that of the use of ‘trendy’ with the age variable. Respondents once again were asked to choose the frequency with which they use the English

word in question and were provided with the options: 'always', 'often', 'sometimes', 'rarely' and 'never'. This chi-square value for this correlation was highly significant ($p < .001$) and there were no expected frequencies below 5. In fact the minimum anticipated count was 5.75.

The results indicate that the word is preferred by younger age groups and those of older age claim not to use it often or not at all. In particular the analysis of the figures depicts that 13% of the first group, 6% of the second, 0% of the third group and 4% of the fourth group employ the word all the time. Furthermore, the percentages of the second option demonstrate a decreasing tendency as we move from the youngest to the oldest group. More specifically, those who claimed to use the given loanword often were 39%, 18%, 13% and 8% respectively of each group. Hence, the borrowing is mostly used by people of younger age especially the youngest group who have favoured this option by 39%. The third option 'sometimes' was selected by 22% of the first group, 32% of the second group, 25% of the third group and lastly by 13% of the oldest group. The results of the fourth option 'rarely' do not reveal any significant age-related trends as it was mostly selected by the second (25%) and the fourth group (24%), whereas the first group opted for it only by 14% and the third by 18%. Nevertheless, it is the percentages of the last category's selection, that is 'never' which reveal and concomitantly verify what was expected, in other words that older generations use English words to a lesser extent than younger participants. To further analyze that, the results of the last option reveal an increasing tendency from group to group not to use the given loanword with the variation in the two last groups being particularly strong. As is illustrated in the figure that follows, only 12% of the first group and 19% of the second group opted for this choice, whilst it was selected by the vast majorities of the two older groups by 44% and 51% respectively. However, it should be argued that although such results were anticipated due to the limited abilities of older participants in English, they do not hold true for all cases, as some of the loanwords are widely used and have become more popular than others. Such an example is the next one, that is, the loanword 'e-mail' which is a core borrowing too; in other words it has an exact equivalent Greek term.

Figure 4.3 The use of the word ‘trendy’



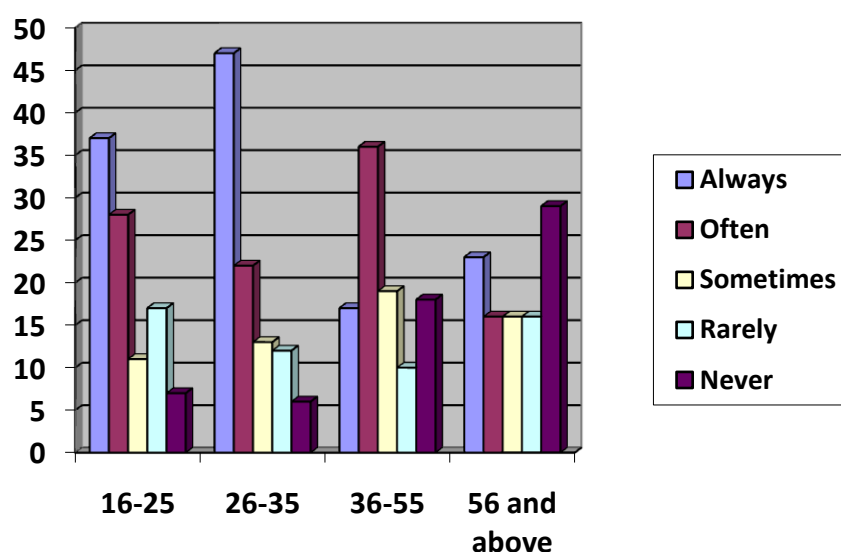
4.2.1.4 The use of the word ‘e-mail’

The correlation between the use of ‘e-mail’ and the age variable also produces highly significant results. The significance value was again .000 ($p < .001$) and all expected frequencies were above 5 with the minimum expected count being 13.75. As was mentioned earlier, the word ‘e-mail’ is very popular and is widely used by native Greek speakers, especially those who are familiar with computers and internet. In this writer’s experience the Greek corresponding term ‘ηλεκτρονικό ταχυδρομείο’ which literary means ‘electronic mail’ is not used at all possibly due to the fact that the English version is shorter and thus more economical. Therefore, if this is so, it seems highly likely that people who have claimed not to use this specific word have never sent or received an email or are not yet familiar with it. This is also indicated to a great extent by the results that follow.

The first option ‘always’ was chosen by the majority of the first and second group participants by 37% and 47% respectively. That is, almost half of the informants belonging to the group aged 26-35 claimed that they use the aforementioned loanword all the time. This option however, was not similarly favoured by the two older groups, with the third group selecting it by 17% and the last group by 23%. The second category ‘often’ also

received a high number of responses: 28% of the first group, 22% of the second, a significant 36% of the third group and lastly 16% of the oldest group stated that they employ the lexical item ‘e-mail’ often. Regarding those who claimed to use the English word sometimes, the percentages are rather smaller, 11%, 13%, 19% and 16% respectively for each group. This also holds true for the results of the fourth category ‘rarely’ which was selected by 17% of the youngest group, 12% of the second group, 10% of the third group and 16% of the oldest group. Moreover, the results of the final option again reveal an increasing tendency of the two oldest groups not to use the specific loanword at all. In more detail, only 7% of the first group and 6% of the second group claimed that they never employ the word ‘e-mail’ whilst the percentages increase significantly in the case of the third group (18%) and even more in the case of the oldest group (29%). In general, taking into consideration all the aforementioned examples of frequency of use, it is evident that younger participants employ a greater number of English loanwords and use it with higher frequency, whilst the older generation does not appear to use English words on a regular and continuous basis. It should be added that this was an expected result since as discussed earlier older participants are less likely to have acquired the English language to any great extent and in the case of this particular example are less likely to have familiarized themselves with technological developments.

Figure 4.4 The use of the word ‘e-mail’



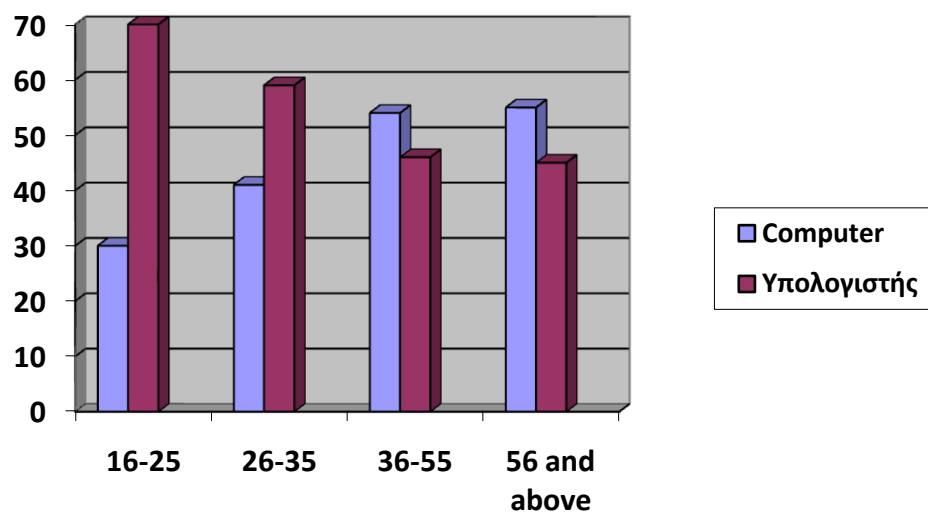
4.2.1.5 ‘Choose one word from each pair that you prefer to use: computer/ υπολογιστής’

As can be seen in Appendix A, informants were asked to select a lexical item from a pair of words consisting of an English borrowing and its Greek corresponding term. These words were selected as they belong to the domains of technology and entertainment which have lent to the Greek language the majority of English borrowings. Thus, the main aim of this part was to show the extent to which these words are preferred to their Greek equivalent as well as to show the variation in the responses of different age groups as loanwords are thought to be more popular to people of younger age. The first two variables that appeared as statistically significant were that of ‘age’ and the participants’ preferred option between the loanword ‘computer’ and its Greek equivalent, namely ‘υπολογιστής’. All expected frequencies were above 5 with the minimum expected frequency being 45. The chi-square value for the above correlation was significant (.000 that is $p < .001$), thus the results confirm that the two variables are related in some way, in other words that age has an effect on the selection of one of the two equivalent words.

An analysis of the data reveals an increased tendency for the use of the English loanword ‘computer’, as we move from the youngest age group to the oldest which is indicated in Figure 4.5. More specifically, as far as the first group is concerned only 30% of the respondents selected the foreign lexical unit, whilst the vast majority (70%) favoured the native item. In the case of the second age group, 41% of the informants selected ‘computer’, whereas 59% opted for ‘υπολογιστής’. The third and the fourth group were divided between the two options, with ‘computer’ being chosen by 55% of the participants and ‘υπολογιστής’ by 45%. The results reveal an unexpected fact, that is that older age groups demonstrate higher levels of preference for a given English loanword in comparison with younger participants. This is unexpected as people of older age have certainly not acquired English to the same extent as younger informants and therefore they would be expected to prefer native lexical items rather than core borrowings such as the word ‘computer’. Moreover, as we will see further on, this preference towards the given loanword comes in contrast with the purist views that the older groups express in their majority. However, what should be added is that the word ‘computer’ is employed by the

Greek language to describe sometimes even erroneously other technological gadgets, as in the case of calculator and remote-controller, thus it is more popular in all age groups. Nonetheless, this clearly demonstrate the effect and influence of the English language on all age groups and consequently on the Greek society. Finally, it should be pointed out that especially in the case of computer-related technology the English lexical item is preferred most of the times.

Figure 4.5 Choose one word from the pair: computer/ υπολογιστής

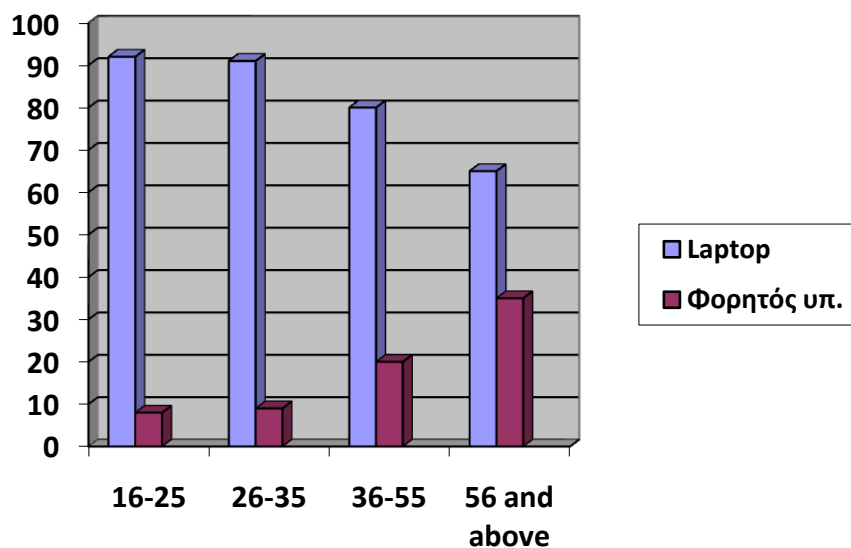


4.2.1.6 ‘Choose one word from each pair that you prefer to use: laptop/ φορητός υπολογιστής’

However, the selection of a single item does not lend support to the speculation that older age groups tend to opt more for English loanwords than their respective informants of younger age groups. This is obvious from the next result of the chi-square test on the potential relationship between age and the use of word ‘laptop’ or its Greek equivalent ‘φορητός υπολογιστής’ which is translated as portable computer. The relationship between the two variables was highly significant ($p < .001$) and no expected frequencies were below 5.

A closer look at the data revealed that regarding the first age group (16-25), 92% opted for the English loanword, whilst only 8% selected the Greek corresponding term. These results are almost identical to that of the second age group where 91% preferred the English borrowings and 9% the Greek equivalent. Slightly differentiated are the results of the third group. Once again the vast majority (80%) demonstrated their preference for the English word, whereas only 20% selected the Greek one. However, the choices of the oldest group reveal an increased variation between the two options, since 65%, again the majority, opted for ‘laptop’ while the rest 35% chose the Greek lexical item. Hence, in the case of this specific word pair, the influence of all age groups by foreign terminology is clear, however, it is the younger age groups that show greater tendencies to the adoption of English lexical units, as expected.

Figure 4.6 Choose one word from the pair: laptop/ φορητός υπολογιστής

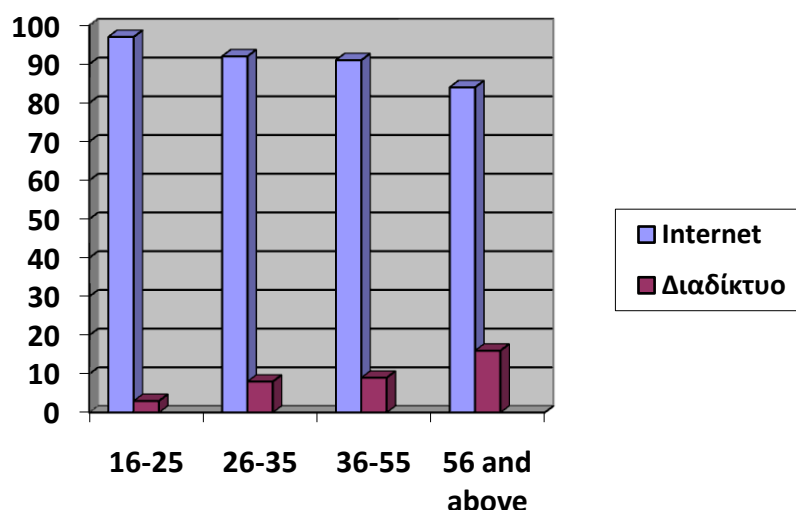


4.2.1.7 ‘Choose one word from each pair that you prefer to use: internet/ διαδίκτυο’

The participants’ choice between the two lexical units (internet/ διαδίκτυο) belonging to different languages together with the factor of age also proved to be statistically significant. More specifically there were no expected counts below the number of 5 and the significance value was .015 that is $p < .05$. The results reveal the common tendency of all age groups to prefer the English cultural borrowing over the Greek equivalent word.

With regard to the first group, the vast majority (97%) favoured ‘internet’, whilst only 3% opted for the Greek term. Similarly in the second age group (26-35) 92% preferred the English loanword to the Greek equivalent, which was popular only by 8%. The variation in the third group appears to be insignificant as compared to the second group, since 91% chose the English word and only 9% selected the Greek term. However, the last group is more differentiated as the percentages of those who opted for the Greek word increase (16%) and the percentages of those in favour of the foreign item drop (84%). What should be stated at this point is the extent to which English words related to technology have become fairly popular to the Greek public, a fact that is clearly indicated by the increased preference of English lexical items when there is an exact equivalent Greek word. Furthermore, the chi-square test demonstrates a correlation between the factor of age and the given variable (‘choose a word from the pair: internet/διαδίκτυο’) in the sense that an older participant is more likely to prefer the Greek word than a younger one. This conclusion was highly expected since as mentioned earlier older generations are not familiar with the English language to the degree that the young generations. On the other hand, it should be noted that the variation between younger and older age groups appears not to be extremely important in terms of respective majorities which all favour the English item irrespectively of age.

Figure 4.7 Choose one word from the pair: internet/ διαδίκτυο

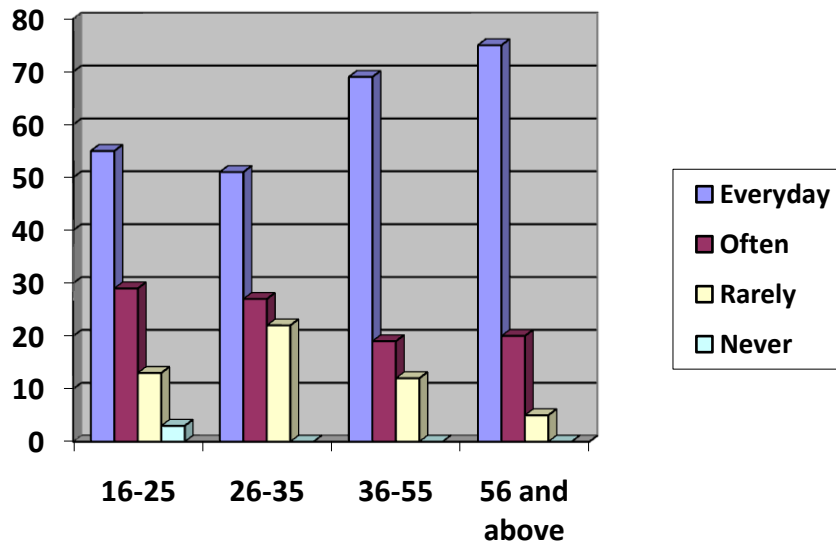


4.2.1.8 'How often do you watch TV?'

Although the next chi-square correlation was not statistically significant (25% expected counts under 5 with minimum expected value under 1), it is still worth commenting on as it is of great importance for the analysis of all the different categories of this study. More specifically, participants were asked to select the frequency with which they watch television and they were provided with four possible answers: 'everyday', 'often', 'rarely' and 'never'. Although, the correlation is statistically insignificant, however the informants' responses to this question are highly essential to the present project given its aim of examining the attitudes of the public towards the use of English on television. Thus, if a large percentage of participants do not watch television, then their responses will not be based on observation, but on assumptions. Fortunately, this is not the case, as all informants in their majority are fans of television.

As illustrated by the following figure, all age groups in their majority watch television on an everyday basis, hence they form the perfect sample for presenting their views on the use of English by television. In particular, 55% of the youngest age group, 51% of the second group, 69% of the third age group and the overwhelming majority of the last age group (75%), all stated that they watch television every day. Furthermore, 29% of the group aged 16-25, 27% of the group aged 26-35, 19% of the group aged 36-55 and 20% of the group aged 56 and above favoured the second available option and claimed that they often watch television. Regarding the third option 'rarely' it was chosen by 13%, 22%, 12% and 5% of each age group respectively. Finally, it is interesting and extremely important for this study to note that none of the participants belonging to the last three groups stated that they never watch television, only 3% of the first group selected this option. It was these zero percentages that restricted the statistical significance of the correlation as they generated expected counts smaller than the required 1. Nonetheless, what is important is that according to the results one of the basic conditions of this project has been met by the fact that in their vast majority of participants are TV viewers.

Figure 4.8 How often do you watch TV?



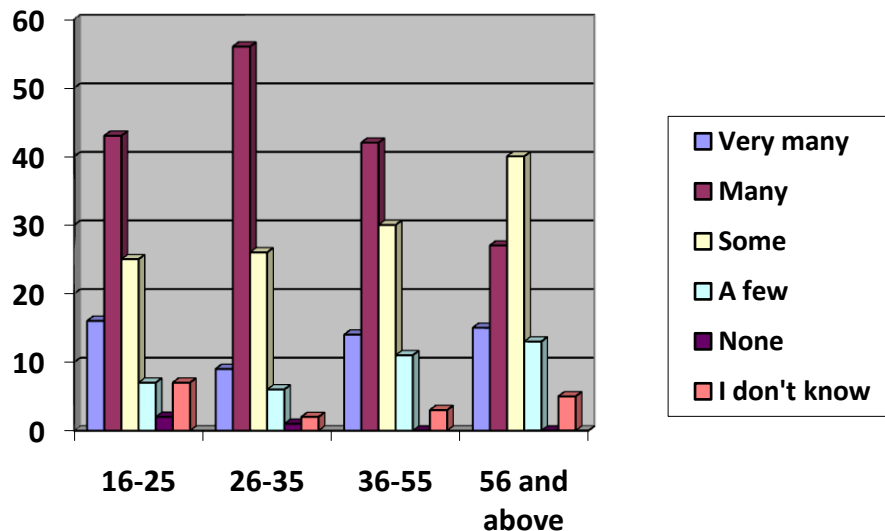
4.2.1.9 'Do you believe that TV personalities in Greece use...'

Another core question to which respondents had to answer was the amount of English words that Greek television personalities use. This is an extremely significant question given that this study wishes to examine the use of code-switching and English loanwords on television and the attitudes of the Greek public towards it; hence, it is a prerequisite that such linguistic behaviours exist and are not merely an assumption and that the participants verify this as a reality through their answers. To this purpose informants were asked to choose among the following options in order to provide their views on the amount of English words used by Greek television: 'very many English words or phrases', 'many English words or phrases', 'some English words or phrases', 'a few English words or phrases', 'no English words or phrases' or 'I don't know'. It should be added that the correlation of this variable and that of age did not produce statistically meaningful results due to the large percentage of expected frequencies below 5 (33%), although the statistical value was .025. Nevertheless, it will be examined as it plays a central role in the present project for the reasons that were mentioned earlier.

According to the results (as presented in Figure 4.9), the vast majority of the first three groups stated that TV personalities use many English words (43%, 56% and 42%), whilst

the oldest group informants in their majority believed that they use some English words or phrases (40%). This option, namely ‘some English words or phrases’ was also selected by 25% of the youngest group, 26% of the second group and 30% of the third group. The first option ‘very many’ was favoured by 16%, 9%, 14% and 15% respectively. Thus, it is clear that in their overwhelming majority all participants verify that the use of English on television is an actual fact and that it occurs to a significant extent. This is also indicated by the limited number of responses regarding the fourth and fifth option provided to the informants, that is ‘a few English words or phrases’ and ‘no English words of phrases’. In more detail, the fourth option was selected by 7% of the youngest group, 6% of the second group, 11% of the third group and 13% of the oldest group. The fifth choice presents even smaller percentages. The youngest group claimed that Greek TV personalities use no English words by 2%, the second group agreed by only 1%, whilst no one of the third and fourth group participants selected this option. Finally, it should be pointed out that there were some informants who stated that they are unaware of the amount of English words used on television (7%, 2%, 3% and 5% respectively for each group).

Figure 4.9 Do you believe that Greek TV personalities in Greece use...



4.2.1.10 'Why do think Greek TV personalities use English words?'

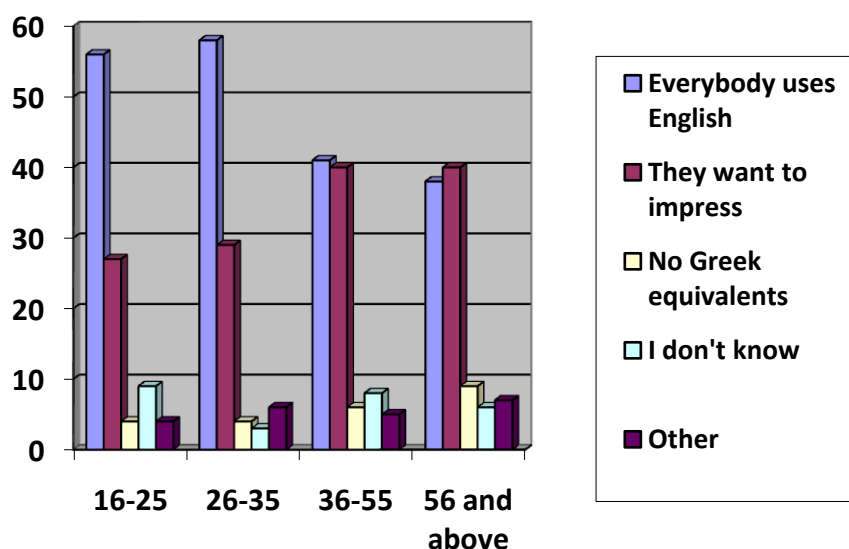
Additionally participants were asked to provide their views on the reasons that lead Greek television personalities to use English words. This question was both closed and open type as it included prepared answers whilst it also rendered the possibility to informants to provide their own response. More specifically, respondents had to choose among the following options: 'because everybody uses English nowadays, it is a common phenomenon', 'because they want to impress (others) with their linguistic abilities', 'because there are no Greek equivalent words for certain notions', 'I don't know' or 'other'. The relation of this variable with that of age did not produce highly significant results, as the significance value was estimated to be .118 ($p > .05$). However, there were no expected counts below 5 and the responses were valued as important to the overall aim of the study. Nonetheless, as will be seen in the chapters that follow the correlation of this question with other variables produced important statistical results.

A brief examination of figure 4.10 demonstrates that the respondents of the first three groups in their majority attribute the reasons for the use of English on television to the fact that such linguistic habits have become a common phenomenon and the English language is employed by everyone. In particular, 56% of the first group, 58% of the second group and 41% of the third group favoured this option. In addition, this option was also selected by a large percentage of the oldest group (38%), but not by its majority which opted for the third choice and claimed that Greek TV personalities use English words as a means to impress with their linguistic abilities (40%). The third available alternative was also chosen by 27%, 29% and 40% of the other groups respectively. Only a limited percentage of all age groups expressed the view that English use on television is due to the lack of Greek equivalent lexical items (4%, 4%, 6% and 9%). Similar percentages appear in the case of the 'I don't know' option (9%, 3%, 8% and 6%). Moreover, some of the informants provided their own answers such as: 'they use English words unintentionally', 'to make fool of themselves', 'they lack lexicon, it has become a fashion', 'to approach their audience', 'because it is easier for them, they don not have to think of the Greek equivalent', 'it is the language of our era', 'because they are unaware of the corresponding

Greek words', 'it is a matter of fashion', 'they think that in this way their status rises', 'it depends on the level of the show and its participants', 'their knowledge of Greek is insufficient', 'English is an international language' and other.

Therefore, it can be argued from all the above that most informants perceive English language use as a common phenomenon and believe that this is the reason for its occurrence on television. Nonetheless, there are many, especially belonging to the two older group who criticize TV personalities for using English to impress the public with their expertise. Hence, older participants appear to hold a negative view towards the reasons that lead to this language contact phenomenon, as they attribute it to the need of TV personalities for self-promotion. Moreover, only a few respondents supported the view that English use is due to the lack of the appropriate English lexicon, which justifies the belief that loanword occurrence on television mostly involves core and not cultural borrowings.

Figure 4.10 Why do you think Greek TV personalities use English words?



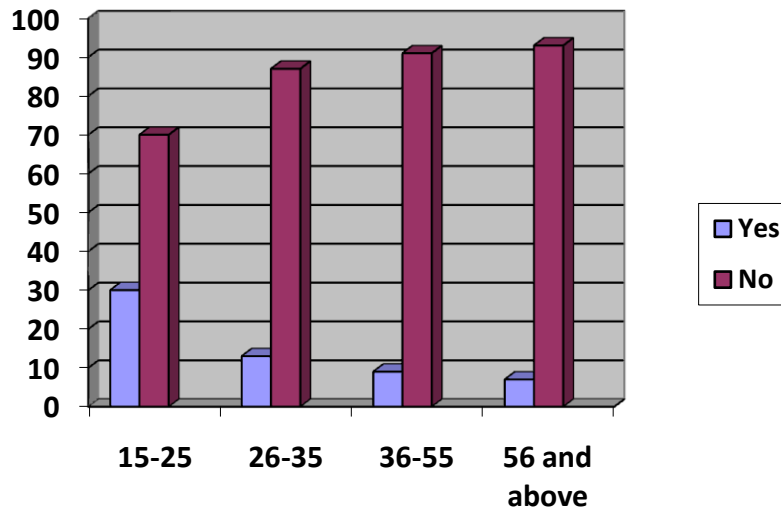
In the next part of the questionnaire respondents were asked to select all adjectives that better describe television personalities who use English items on Greek television from the following list: 'trendy', 'stupid', 'arrogant', 'intelligent', 'educated', 'show-offs' and 'indifferent'. This list was the result of a question used in the pilot questionnaire where participants were asked to comment on the personalities of people who appear on the Greek

television and use English loanwords. Therefore, after being provided with the list the participants of the revised and final questionnaire opted for one, two, three, four or in certain cases even five adjectives and the correlation of their responses to that of the age factor produce statistically significant results regarding the categories ‘stupid’, ‘show-offs’ and ‘indifferent’.

4.2.1.11 ‘Greek TV personalities who use English words are stupid’

This particular correlation was found to be highly significant ($p < .001$) with no expected counts below 5. More specifically, the chi-square test revealed an important variation between the responses of the younger and older age groups. Thirty percent of the first group claimed to consider people using the English language on Greek television to be stupid, whilst only 13% of the second group, 9% of the third group and a limited 7% of the older group favoured this option. This gradual decrease in percentages indicates that participants of younger age have a more negative view as regards the mental ability of Greek television personalities and consider their behaviour of language mixing a clear indicator of that particular characteristic. On the other hand, only a limited percentage of older participants opted for this choice which signifies that they believe that the remaining adjectives describe in a more appropriate way the personality of the individuals in question.

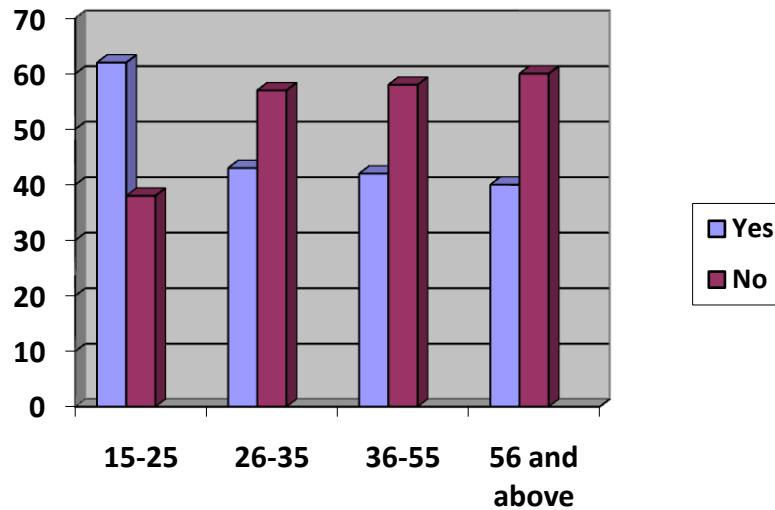
Figure 4.11 Greek TV personalities who use English words are stupid



4.2.1.12 'Greek TV personalities who use English words are show-offs'

The correlation between the attribute 'show-offs' and the age factor also presented statistically significant results with $p < .050$ ($p = .005$) and no expected counts below 5. In particular, all groups in great percentages selected this option, but there is a decreasing tendency as the examination proceeds from the youngest to the oldest group. To be more specific, 62% of the first group, 43% of the second group, 42% of the third group and 40% of the last group favoured this attribute. In other words the majority of all respondents consider that TV personalities who employ English words on Greek television are mainly attempting to promote themselves and their linguistic abilities, a belief which is also apparent in the sociolinguistic analysis of data as examined in the previous chapter. It is important to note that it is again younger participants who have strongly favoured this option.

Figure 4.12 Greek TV personalities who use English words are show-offs

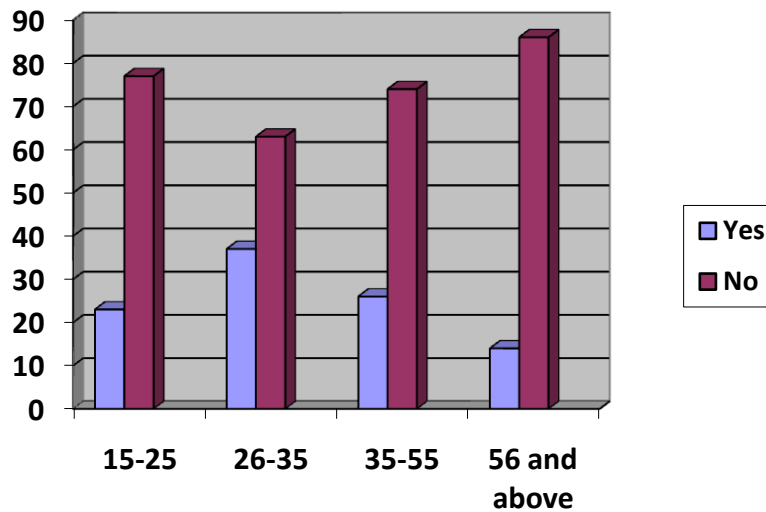


4.2.1.13 'Greek TV personalities who use English words are indifferent'⁷

The statistical relation between the aforementioned variable and the age factor was proven to be significant with $p < .050$ ($p = .002$). Additionally, all expected values were above 5 with the minimum being 25. In this case the variation between diverse age groups is slightly different, as the second and the third group present higher percentages of the option in question. More specifically, first group participants opted for the attribute 'indifferent' by 23% whilst second and third group respondents favoured it by 37% and 26% respectively. On the other hand, it is again the oldest group which produced the lowest percentages concerning this option, namely only 14%. Thus, it can be argued that Greek television personalities who tend to use English on television do not cause any interest mostly to second and third group informants.

⁷ As mentioned in the beginning of Chapter 4, 'indifferent' is used as an exact translation of the Greek word 'αδιάφοροι' meaning that those particular personalities do not cause any interest to the participants.

Figure 4.13 Greek TV personalities who use English words are indifferent



Turning now to another part of the distributed questionnaire, informants were provided with a number of statements and were asked to state their beliefs by choosing one of the following options: 'I strongly agree', 'I agree', 'I am uncertain', 'I disagree' and finally 'I strongly disagree'. Some of these variables tested together with that of age were found to be related. Although the second assumption of the chi-square test was not achieved, that is that all expected frequencies are greater than 5, however, the combination of variables presented did not have more than 20% frequencies above 5 and none of these expected counts was less than 1. Taking into consideration the large sample of the present study (400 subjects), such frequencies are acceptable and the loss of statistical power is limited.

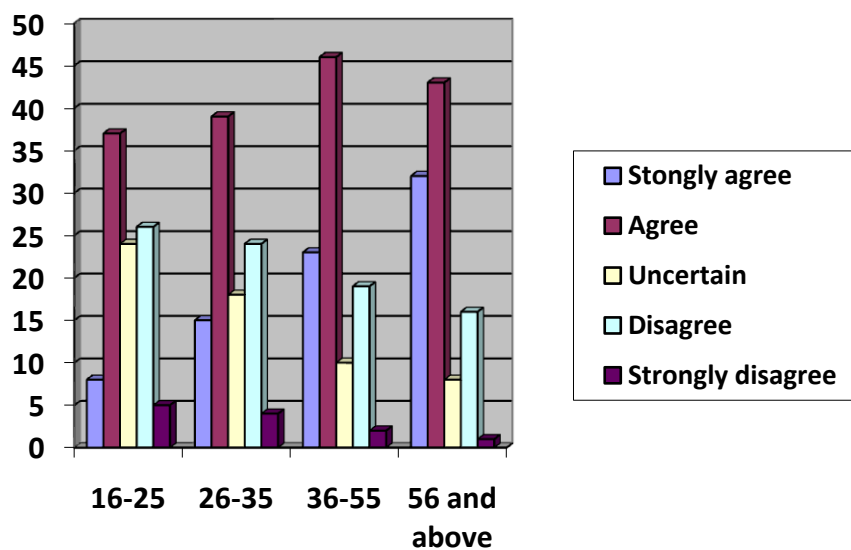
4.2.1.14 'Television personalities act as role-models and should not use English words'

One of the statements that did not completely fulfill this assumption was the following: 'TV personalities act as role-models and should not use English words'. Although there were a few expected counts below 5, there were limited to 20% and no expected frequencies were less than 1. Actually, the minimum expected count was 3 with the correlation of the two variables being highly significant ($p < .001$).

In general, the examination revealed that the participants of all age groups in their majority argued that they agree with this statement. However, in-depth analysis of the results leads to the conclusion that the percentages of those who strongly agree or not with this statement increase as we move from the youngest to the oldest age group. On the contrary, the percentages of those who disagree with or without reservations with the above sentence appear to drop significantly. More specifically, if we look at the results of the people who strongly agree with this statement, only 8% of the first age group, 15% of the second age group, 23% of the third age group have selected this option followed by the increased percentage of 32% of the oldest age group. Hence, it is certain that older generations express more negative views towards the use of English words on television and consider people appearing on television as role-models who should not employ English lexical items. The overall tendency of the participants is evident from the percentages of the second option with which informants were provided ('I agree'). Thirty-seven percent of the first age group, 39% of the second, 46% of the third and 43% of the oldest group, they all agree that people appearing on television act as role-models and therefore they should not employ English words. In this case however, it is the third age group that has the highest percentages, but still there is quite a clear and increased tendency observed in the older groups to support this view. This variation on the basis of age difference is also manifested in the results generated by those who claimed that they disagree with the aforementioned statement. Twenty-six percent of the group aged 16-25 disagreed with this opinion, 24% of the group aged 26-35 shared their views, 19% of the third age group (36-55) also disagreed and finally 16% of the oldest group held the same opinion. Moreover, it is important to mention that only a limited number of participants from all groups selected the last option ('I strongly disagree'). Interestingly, only 5% of the first group stated their strong disagreement, followed by 4% of the second age group, 2% of those aged 36-55 and just 1% of the oldest group -only one subject in other words- selected the same option. It was these small percentages that generated expected counts lower than 5. Nevertheless, the strong variation is evident by the sum of those who agree with or without reservations and its comparison to the sum of those who disagree or strongly disagree. Regarding the first group 45% in total agree with the statement and 31% disagree. In the second group 54% stated that TV personalities should not use English words, while 28% favoured the

opposite. In the case of the third group, this variation increases even more with 69% agreeing with the statement and only 21% disagreeing. In the last group this variation reaches its pick with a prevailing 75% selecting the options ‘I agree’ and ‘I strongly agree’, whilst only 17% stated that they disagree or strongly disagree with the given statement. Finally, it should be added that younger participants appear more uncertain than those of older age, as is illustrated by the figure that follows.

Figure 4.14 Television personalities act as role-models and should not use English words



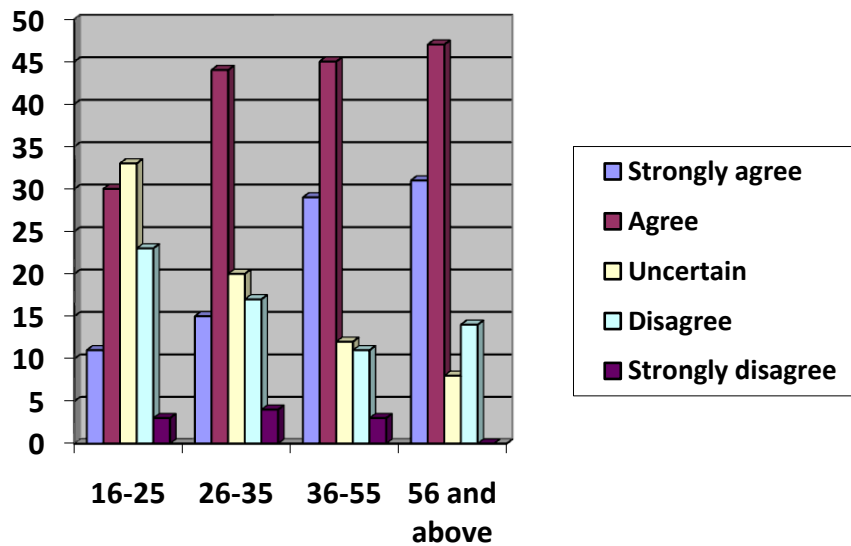
4.2.1.15 ‘I don’t like it when people use English on TV’

The next statement of the questionnaire for which respondents should demonstrate their agreement, disagreement or uncertainty was the following: ‘I don’t like it when people use English on TV’. Once again the statistical analysis revealed the high significance ($p < .001$) of the correlation of the two variables. The statistical analysis however also found out a 20% of expected frequencies below 5 with the minimum expected count being 2.50.

The participants’ responses yielded interesting results in terms of attitude variation due to age differences. Firstly, it is of significant importance to observe the differences with regard to the first option available to the informants (‘I strongly agree’). A quick look at the bar chart of figure 4.15 clearly demonstrates that percentages increase from group to

group. Only 11% of the first group strongly agreed with this statement, 15% of the second group opted for the same response. Moreover, 29% of the third group also expressed their strong agreement together with 31% of the last group. It is evident that there is an essential variation between the first and the last group which is also apparent as far as the second option is concerned ('I agree'). Younger participants expressed their agreement to the statement by 30%, whilst the percentage of the oldest group for the same response reaches 47%. Additionally, quite interestingly no one from the last group appears to strongly disagree with this statement, whereas a respected 14% of the same group simply disagrees. However, the most crucial information shown by the data is the large percentages by which the last three groups appear to agree with the particular statement (44%, 45% and 47% respectively). These majorities function as a clear indication of the negative feelings that the use of English on television provokes to the viewers. Due to the fact that the statement does not specify the reasons for disliking such linguistic trends, at this point it is not plausible to identify the forces that generate such negative feelings to the participants, but the examination of further questions later in this paper will lead to more secure conclusions. Speculations however could focus on the low levels of English language acquisition in the older groups which would definitely affect communication, as well as on the possible danger that the Greek language faces from the close and continuous contact with a foreign language. Finally, another interesting fact is that the majority of the youngest group (16-25) are uncertain of their feelings towards the use of English on television by 33% which could lead to the interpretation that they do not like nor dislike the use of English loanwords on television.

Figure 4.15 I don't like it when people use English on TV



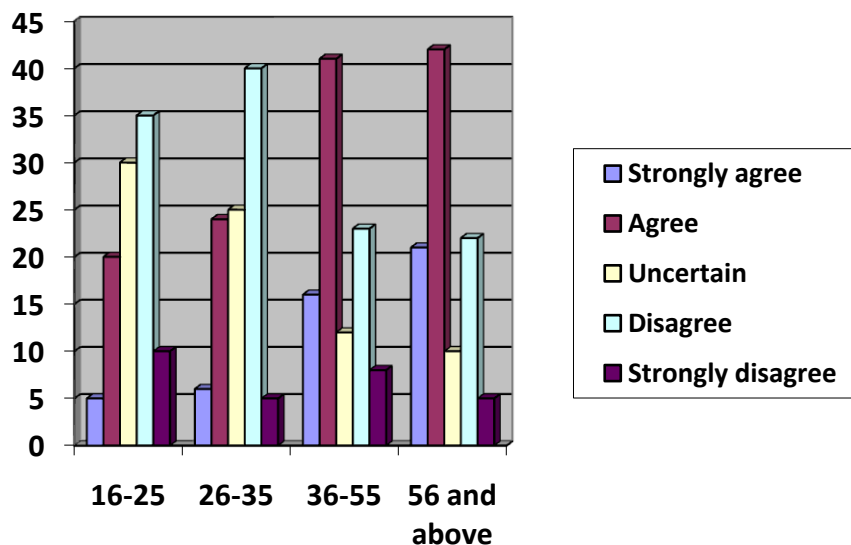
4.2.1.16 'People can use English words but not on TV'

The statement that followed in the questionnaire aimed at specifying whether the use of English created feelings of dislike due to its presence in a medium that is extremely popular and quite influential or if it is generally frowned upon independently of the situation and place in which it occurs. Thus, participants were asked to express their agreement or disagreement whether strong or not or their uncertainty towards the statement: 'People can use English words but not on TV'. In this case the chi-square test was unproblematic, since no frequencies were below 5 and the significance value was .000 ($p < .001$) which denotes that results are statistically important and that the two variables (that of the statement and that of age) are related in a certain way.

This question produced significant findings as there is an intense difference between the attitudes of the two younger and the two older groups' majorities. If we examine the results, we will observe that the first two groups expressed their disagreement to this statement, whilst the two last groups demonstrated their agreement. More specifically, 20% of the first group agree with the aforementioned statement, whilst 35% disagree. Twenty-four percent of the second group believe that people can use English but not on television, while 40% disagree. On the other hand, a significant 41% of the third group

express their agreement and a 23% favour the opposition. The results of the fourth group are almost identical to that of the third with 42% agreeing and 22% disagreeing. Hence, by comparing the first two groups with the last two, we discover reverse tendencies concerning the use of English borrowings on television. Once again, this supports the initial hypothesis that older participants will demonstrate more conservative and negative attitudes towards the use of English especially on television due to its influential character, something that will be investigated in the parts that follow. It is clear by the large percentages of uncertainty in the first two groups that younger generations appear more doubtful about the feelings that the use of English generates to them and do not support the view that English should not be used on television.

Figure 4.16 People can use English words but not on TV



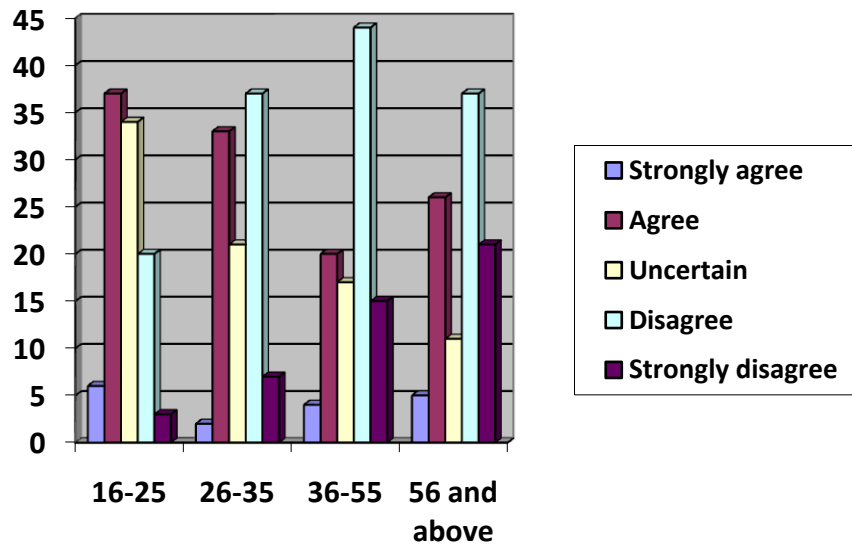
4.2.1.17 'It's normal for someone to use English words on television'

The next correlation that fitted the criteria of Pearson's chi-square test was that of the variable 'it's normal for someone to use English words on television' and the age variable. Informants had to demonstrate agreement, disagreement or uncertainty similarly to the previous sections. The relation resulted as highly significant ($p < .001$) with 20% of the expected counts being less than 5, with however the minimum frequency being 4.25.

The results of this question confirm the existing tendency of the older age groups to express negative attitudes towards the use of English on television. Whilst one could claim that the previous statements were negatively biased (i.e. 'people can use English words, but not on television'), this one albeit positively biased it still produces the same results. Firstly, the percentages of those who agree with the given statement will be examined. In particular 37% of the group aged 16-25 believe that it is normal to use the English language on television. 33% of the second group also agree with this view, as the 20% of the third group and the 26% of the last group. These results are indicative of the general tendency of older participants to be less positive towards the use of English, nevertheless their responses do not reflect a very marked difference. In fact it is the fourth option ('I disagree') and its combination with the last option ('I strongly disagree') that clearly signals marked differences between the age groups. Twenty percent of the first group claimed to disagree with the statement, with the respective percentage increasing to 37% with regard to the second group, to 44% in the third group and dropping again to 37% in the last group. However, if we add the percentages of the two last options, that is of those who disagree and of those who strongly disagree, the results will reflect an even greater variation. In that way only 23% of the youngest group disagree which is almost doubled in the case of the second group (44%) and even higher in the two last groups (59% and 58% respectively). Therefore, to conclude it is only the youngest group that considers the use of English on television to be normal, whilst all the other groups tend to be in favour of the opposite. The attitude of younger participants is certainly influenced significantly by their status as English language learners, which makes them more familiar with English use in general. On the other hand, it can be speculated that the prevailing attitude of older informants could be attributed to the nature of Greek and its role in the Greek state as the single official language, as well as to the fact that TV personalities in Greece are mostly of Greek nationality, thus they are native speakers of Greek and address a Greek audience. In future research these issues could be fully addressed and the reasons behind the informants' choice could be analyzed. Lastly, it should be noted again that the amount of people in the group aged 16-25 who are uncertain is fairly high, something which could be attributed either to their indifference towards the use of English or to their not fully mature nature.

The other two statements included in this part of the questionnaire were: ‘English words make the Greek language richer’ and ‘I find the use of English on television educative and instructive’. Unfortunately, these statements failed to fulfill the basic assumptions of the chi-square test and thus were not included in this analysis.

Figure 4.17 It’s normal for someone to use English words on television



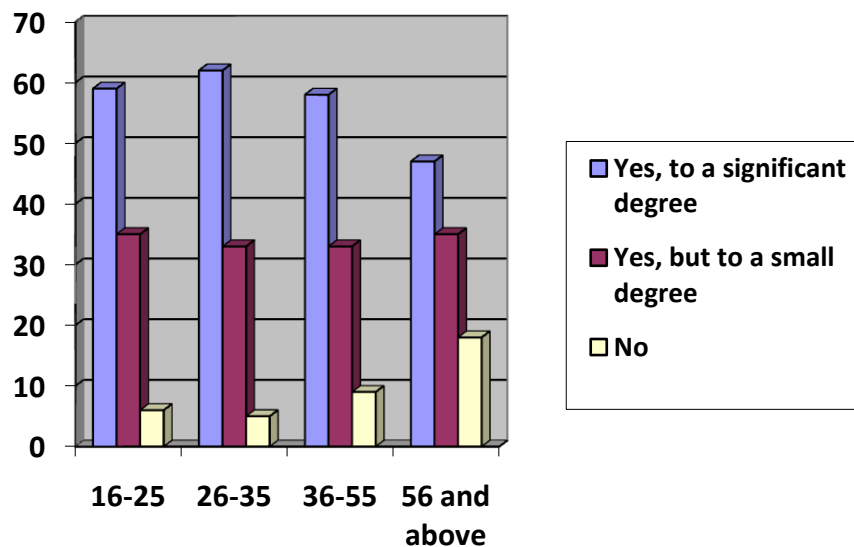
4.2.1.18 ‘Do you believe that the use of the English language on Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public?’

A relationship between another pair of variables was found to be significant by the statistical analysis of data. The chi-square revealed that the combination of the age variable with the variable focusing on the participants’ beliefs on whether the use of English on television can affect the public’s linguistic repertoire produces significant statistical information; hence, the two variables are not independent, but closely related. The relation’s significance was .036 ($p < .05$) which means that there is a 3.6% possibility of the results having been produced by chance and there were no expected frequencies below 5.

The results render important findings on the informants’ beliefs about the possible effect of English use on television on the lexicon of the Greek public. Participants were provided with three possible options: ‘yes to a significant degree’, ‘yes, but to a small degree’ and

‘no’. As is illustrated in the figure below, all groups appear to agree in their majority that the occurrence of language contact phenomena on television can influence the public’s linguistic repertoire to a significant degree. In detail, 59% of the first group, 62% of the second, 58% of the third and 47% of the last age group they all share this view. This indicates that the influence of English on the Greek public is an irrefutable fact for the majority of the present sample. As far as the second option is concerned, the bar chart (Figure 4.18) illustrates a relative homogeneity in the responses of the informants. Figures confirm this assumption with 35% of the first group, 33% of the second group, 33% of the third and 35% of the older group selecting this option. In other words, about one third of the respondents of all age groups claim that the use of English words on television can affect the linguistic habits of the public, but only to a small extent. Regarding the last option offered to the participants stating that English use on television cannot have any effect on the lexicon of the Greek people, only a limited numbers of subjects from the first three groups supported this idea (6%, 5% and 9% respectively) whilst the figure doubles in the case of the older group (19%). This variation signifies that a small but not limited number of older informants do not believe that the linguistic behaviour of TV personalities could influence the linguistic habits of the public. The reasons behind this choice lead to a twofold explanation. Either this percentage considers television less influential or not influential at all, or they believe that one’s existing linguistic behaviour, that of non code-mixing could not be easily altered. On the other hand, the limited responses in the first three groups verify what was mentioned earlier, that the effect of English use on the Greek language is commonly and widely accepted as an occurring phenomenon.

Figure 4.18 Do you believe that the use of the English language on Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public?



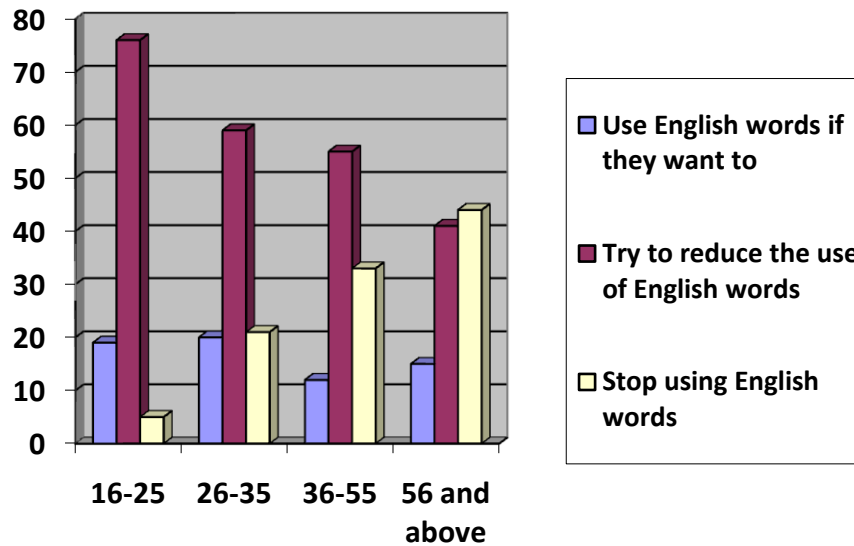
4.2.1.19 'Do you believe that people appearing on Greek TV should...'

The examination of this question is extremely important to the overall project because it presents the participants' beliefs on whether television personalities should opt for English lexical items and the extent to which TV personalities they should use them. The importance lies in the fact that through the informants' suggestions, their attitudes become apparent. More significantly, their results when compared to those of similar questions yield the same conclusions which allow a safe and accurate analysis and argumentation. The statistical test showed a highly meaningful correlation between this variable (what should people appearing on TV do) and that of age ($p < .001$). All expected frequencies were again above 5, thus all the assumptions of Pearson's chi-square test were met.

Respondents were provided with three options, namely: 'use English words or phrases if they want to', 'try to reduce the use of English words or phrases' or 'stop using English words or phrases'. Each group present interesting results, as the first three groups in their majority claimed that people appearing on television should try to limit the linguistic habit of using English loanwords, while the majority of the last age group selected the more austere option and suggested that people on television should stop using English words or

phrases. This variation on its own indicates a considerable difference between the views of the older group and all the others. However, this majority is not that strong as the group appears divided between the last two options. Nonetheless, it is the very difference in the figures of the last option in all age groups that demonstrates a diverse tendency in the last group, as well as an increased tendency from group to group. More specifically, only 5% of the youngest group stated that people on television should stop using English words, 21% of the second group expressed the same beliefs, 33% of the third group agreed with them and finally a significant 44% of the last group selected this option. As can be seen there is a gradual and continuous increase in the number of responses as we examine the data from the youngest to the oldest group. These figures signify that the age factor plays an important role in the development of an attitude toward the use of English on television. Older generations appear more negative to this phenomenon and wish for it to disappear or to be reduced. Furthermore, younger and middle-aged informants also suggest that the occurrence of English on television should be reduced. This attitude is not necessarily perceived as negative, but it is definitely not a supporting one. It clearly indicates that respondents are not in favour of the use of English to a great extent and believe that such occurrences should be restricted in number. It is noteworthy to present the results regarding the first option, albeit selected by the minority of all participants. The percentages of the first two groups are almost identical (19% and 20% respectively). The third group opted for this choice by 12% and the last group by 15%. In other words about one fifth of participants aged 16-25 and 26-35 are in favour of or do not object to the use of the English language on television, whereas the percentages are smaller for the last two groups, but still substantial. Thus, there are some who do not hold a negative stance towards the occurrence of English words or phrases on television.

Figure 4.19 Do you believe that people appearing on Greek TV should...

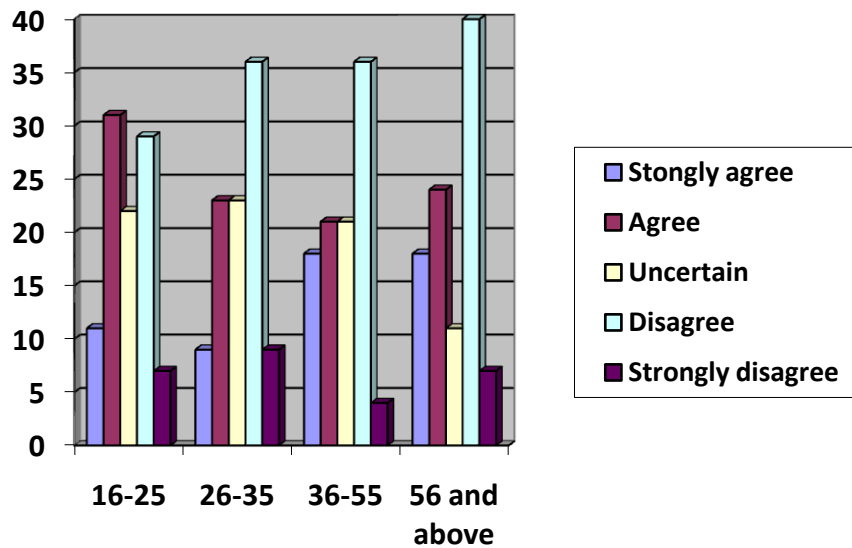


4.2.1.20 ‘The use of English by TV can alter the Greek language to a great extent but can never threaten it’

Participants were also provided with the statement: ‘The use of English by television can alter the Greek language to a great extent, but can never threaten it’. This statement may seem ambiguous because it consists of two sentences; however, it was included in the questionnaire in order to test the consistency in the answers of the respondents. To further analyze that, this phrase was presented in a series of statements that aimed at eliciting informants’ attitudes on whether the use of English by television and the mass media could be a threat to the Greek language and on the degree to which Greek can be altered by English. To that purpose the statement presented before this one was the following: ‘The use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language’. Although, the first statement (‘The use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language’) was not found to be statistically significant by the chi-square test, nevertheless it is imperative to be presented in order to analyze the data. The results for this statement are illustrated in the figure below.

‘The use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language’

Figure 4.20a The use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language

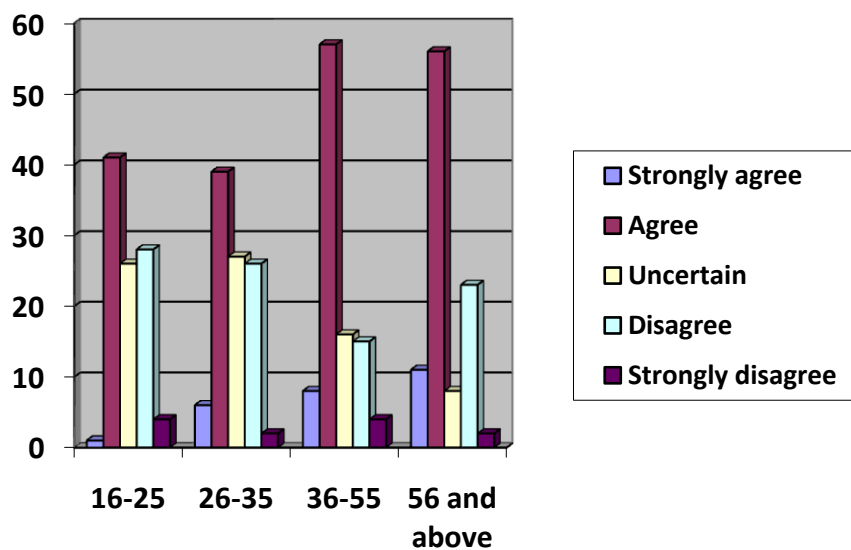


At first glance, it appears that the youngest group in its majority agrees with the aforementioned statement and considers the use of English by TV and the mass media in general a threat to the Greek language and that the other groups disagree in their vast majorities with it. However, if we wish an in-depth examination of the data, we need to add the percentages of those who agree either strongly or not from each group, as well as the percentages of those who disagree in total. Taking that into account, the results generate a divided image of the participants' views. More specifically, 42% of the first group agree with or without reservations, whilst 36% disagree. Hence, in the first group a tendency to agree with the statement is depicted. Regarding the second age group, 32% agree in total and 42% disagree. Thus, the second group does not consider English a threat to Greek. Thirty-nine percent of the third group claims the opposite, in other words that English is a possible danger for the Greek language, whereas almost the same percentage (40%) disagree. Finally, the last group agrees with the statement by 42% and disagrees by 47%, a slightly higher percentage which however indicates a tendency not to consider English a threat to Greek. This too appears to be the tendency of the second group. Additionally, it is significant to note the high percentages of those who are uncertain in the first three groups (22%, 23% and 21% respectively).

Turning now to the statistically significant relations between variables and to the statement that was referred to earlier ('the use of English by television can alter the Greek language to a great extent, but can never threaten it'), we will discover that the vast majority of all participants agree with it. In more detail, 41% of the first group, 39% of the second, 57% of the third and 56% of the last group all agree that the use of English by television can alter the Greek language to a great extent, but can never threaten it. 28% of the first group, 26% of the second, 15% of the third group and 23% of the oldest group are in favour of the opposite. It appears that only the results of the first group are not consistent with those of the previous statements. In total, 41% of the youngest group agree in total with the opinion that Greek can be altered to significant extent by the use of English on television, but that it cannot face any major threats. In total they disagree strongly or not by 32%, whereas in the previous statement 42% have claimed to consider English a threat to Greek. This inconsistency however, could be attributed to the high percentages of people who are uncertain (26%) or to the fact that they agree only with the first part of the statement, that is, only with the view that English use can alter the Greek language to a great extent. The third group appears to be consistent in the responses of its majority by claiming that the Greek language cannot be threatened in both variables' correlations, however it failed to reproduce the high percentages of those who consider English a threat to the Greek language in the second correlation (39% in the first, only 19% in the second) which nonetheless can be attributed to the decrease in the percentages of those who were uncertain. On the other hand, the second and the last group appear to be fairly consistent in their responses. That is to say, with regard to the second group in total 45% claimed that English can alter Greek significantly but it cannot threaten it, whilst, 32% claimed the opposite. These results are highly consistent with that of the previous statement where 42% supported the view that English is not a threat to the Greek language whereas 32% stated that it is. Finally, as far as the last group is concerned, in total 67% (in other words those who agree strongly or not) argued that Greek can be changed by English language use, but cannot be threatened and 25% stood in favour of the opposite. If these figures are compared to that of the previous statement, we will find out that there is a consistency in their views since the vast majority had claimed (47%) that English is not a threat for the Greek language. Finally, it should be added that the results for this variable in relation to

that of age were highly significance, since the significance value was .001. There were 20% of expected frequencies above 5, which as discussed earlier is perceived as acceptable in large samples under the condition that none of the expected counts is less that 1. In this case the minimum expected count was 3, which is due to the fact that some of the options were selected by a limited number of informants.

Figure 4.20b The use of English by TV can alter the Greek language to a great extent but can never threaten it



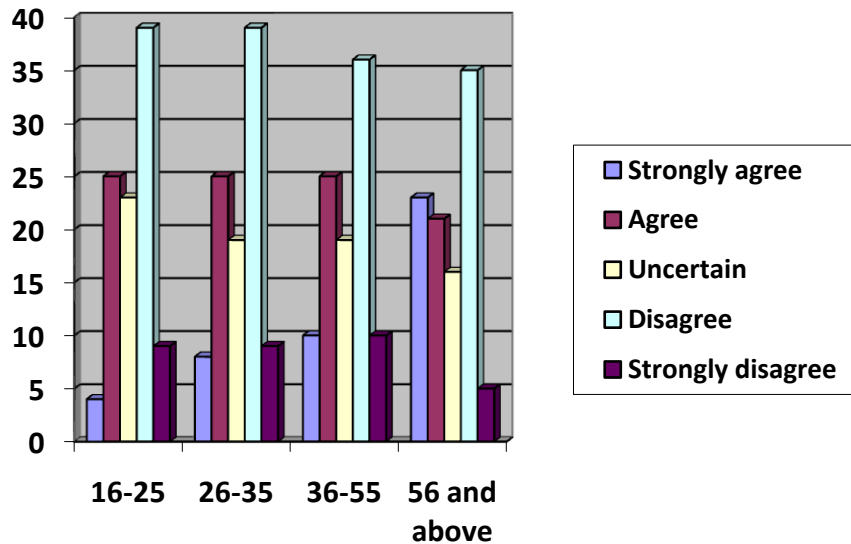
4.2.1.21 'People should stop using foreign words before it's too late'

Another variable which yielded statistically significant results as a combination with the age variable was the responses to the statement: 'people should stop using foreign words before it is too late'. Informants had again to select among one of the following alternatives: 'I strongly agree', 'I agree', 'I am uncertain', 'I disagree' or 'I strongly disagree'. This question aimed at examining the extent to which participants do not favour the use of all foreign words and not specifically English, not only by television or media personalities by also by all people. The correlation of variables as was mentioned above was found to be statistically significant (sig= .038 that is $p < .05$). All expected counts were greater than 5 with the minimum expected frequency being 8.25.

As illustrated in figure 4.21 the vast majorities of all age groups appear to disagree with the given statement by similar percentages. In greater detail, 39% of the first group expressed the view that people should not stop using foreign words before it is too late and the percentage of the participants of the second group who selected the same option is identical. 36% of the third group also supported this idea and 35% of the last group agreed with them. It is essential however to compare the totals of those who agree with or without reservations with those who disagree strongly or not, so as to draw safe and accurate conclusions. In total 29% of the youngest group agree with the statement, whilst 48% disagree. Therefore, regarding the informants of younger age, the occurrence of foreign lexical items is not a phenomenon that needs to be stopped. In the second group, that is of people aged 26-35, 33% of the respondents agree with the suggestion that people should quit expressing themselves in foreign words, whereas 48% supported the opposite. In the third group 35% in total agree with the statement and 46% disagree. The oldest group however presents a differentiation in the prevailing attitudes. Forty-four percent claim that the use of foreign lexicon should be stopped before it is too late, whilst 40% stand in other side of the spectrum. If we closely observe the percentages of those who agree with the statement for each group (29%, 33% 35% and 44% respectively), we will notice a gradual increase in figures as we move from the youngest to the oldest group. This lends support to the initial hypothesis which states that people of older age have a more austere and conservative attitude towards the use of English and in this particular case of all foreign words. This may be partially due to the fact that they do not have acquired English to a great extent, but also to their obvious dislike for code-mixing phenomena as they appear to wish that their language remains pure and intact. This attitude is also related to the fact that code-switching and loanword use are recent phenomena which definitely did not exist at least to this degree at their early years. Nevertheless, we should not forget to mention that this negative attitude towards the use of foreign words also exist in significant percentages in the cases of the first three age group, who approximately by one third believe that people should not opt for foreign lexical items. Finally, it should be pointed out that the percentages of those who were uncertain were quite high (23%, 19%, 19% and 16% respectively for each age group), a result which signifies that some participants are in doubt

of whether foreign words should be employed by Greek speakers in their everyday lives or not.

Figure 4.21 People should stop using foreign words before it's too late



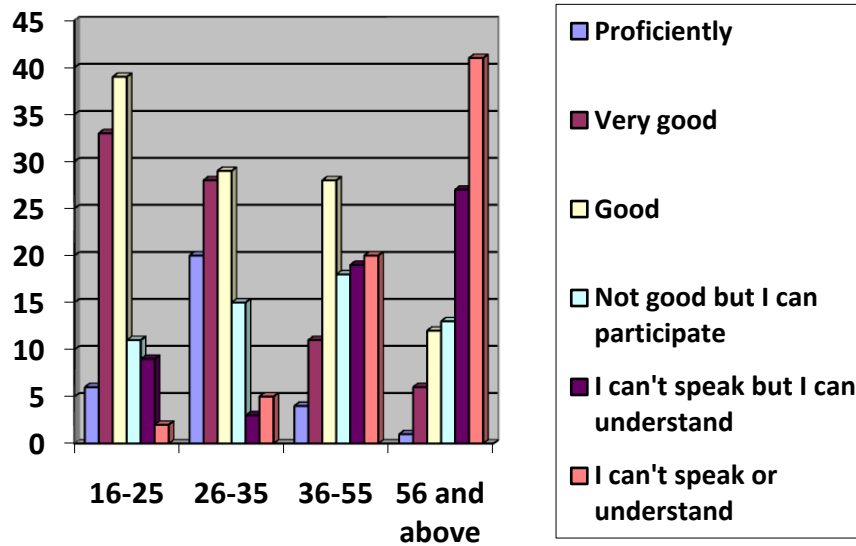
4.2.1.22 Level of English proficiency

Another relationship that was found to particularly meaningful was that of the age variable in combination with the English proficiency level variable. The correlation was highly significant as $\text{sig}=.000$ that is $p<.001$ and there were no expected frequencies below 5 with the minimum expected count being 7.75. This correlation is of high importance because it verifies something that was discussed earlier, that is that the level of English language acquisition is lower in older participants and higher in younger informants.

Respondents were asked to fill in the phrase: 'I speak English' with one of the following six options: 'proficiently', 'very good', 'good', 'not good but I can participate in an everyday interaction', 'I cannot speak but I understand' and 'I cannot speak or understand'. As was expected the first three options were selected mostly by the two youngest groups, whilst the last three were chosen by the two older groups. More specifically, 33% of the first group and 28% of the second claimed that their abilities in English are very good, while the figures appear to drop significantly in the third and the fourth group, as this

option was selected by 11% and 6% respectively. However, there were many who stated that their English acquisition is good. Thirty-nine percent of the first group, 29% of the second group, 28% of the third group and 12% of the oldest group, all opted for this choice. Furthermore, there appears to be no substantial variation between the percentages of all age groups who claimed that they do not speak English well but that they can participate in an everyday interaction. In more detail, 11% of the youngest group, 15% of the second group, 18% of the third group and 13% of the last group favoured this selection. Nevertheless, the last two categories appear to be a significant interest, namely: 'I cannot speak, but I understand' and 'I cannot speak or understand'. Nine percent of the first group and only 3% of the second stated that their English language abilities limit to not speaking but solely understanding. On the contrary, 19% of the third group and 27% of the fourth group selected this option, which indicates an important increase in the number of older participants who only understand the English language. Finally, only 2% and 5% of the first two groups stated that they have not acquired English to any extent, whereas 20% of the third group and an important 41% of the last group claimed the same. From all the above, it is clear that there is a strong variation in the level of English language acquisition between the younger and the older groups. This supports the assumption that older participants have not acquired English to a significant extent or not at all and that they are not familiar with the English language, hence with English loanwords used in the Greek media. Lastly, it should be mentioned that as far as the first option available to the participants is concerned, it was the second group which selected it by the highest percentage (20%), while the first group claimed to be proficient in English only by 6%. This can be explained by the fact that the first group consists mostly of students who may be still learners of English and thus they do not feel that confident about their English linguistic abilities.

Figure 4.22 Level of English proficiency



4.2.1.23 Educational level

The final part of the analysis examining the correlation of the age variable is the testing of the significance in the relation of the age variable with that of the participants' educational level. The chi-square test revealed that this correlation is highly significant ($p < .001$) with 20% of expected frequencies under 5, with the minimum expected count being 4.25.

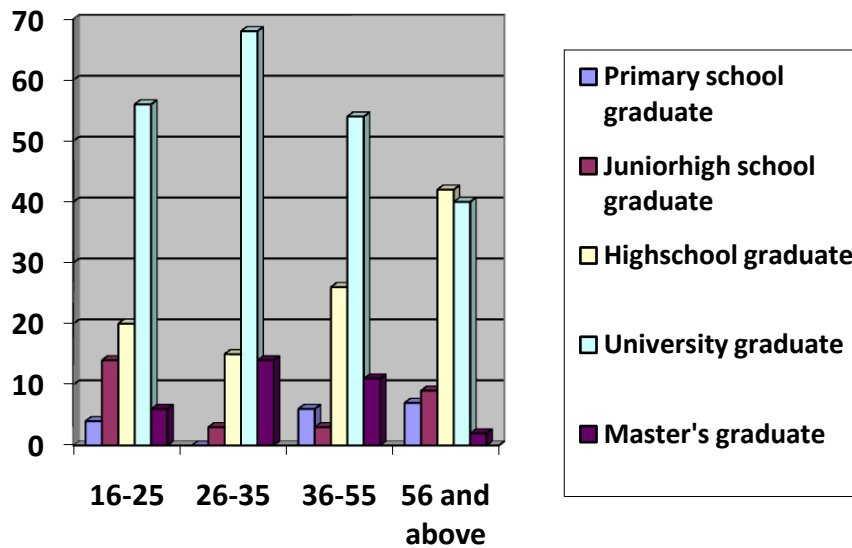
Informants were asked to complete the sentence: 'I am' with the options 'a primary school graduate', 'a junior high school graduate', 'a high school graduate/student', 'a university (public or private)/technical institution graduate/student' and 'a master's degree graduate/student'. In the actual questionnaire the fifth option was presented in separate categories, one for public or private university graduates/students and one for technical or private educational institutions' graduates/students. Nonetheless, in the inclusion of data in SPSS, it was decided that they should both constitute a single category, since they both represent educational qualifications above the level of high school.

The results indicated the presence of a fairly educated sample of participants, especially regarding the first three age groups and as was expected the last group consisted in its majority, albeit not particularly strong, of less educated informants. As was argued earlier

in this study, the period during which the sample of the last group was raised did not offer many opportunities for learning in high levels of education. Nevertheless, the last group does present a large percentage of people who were university graduates. More specifically, the first two categories were selected by a limited number of participants (4%, 0%, 6%, 7% and 14%, 3%, 3%, 9% respectively). With regard to the third option (high school graduate/student), it was chosen by 20% of the first group, 15% of the second group, 26% of the third group and 42% of the older group. At this point it should be noted that participants belonging to the first group were aged 16-25, thus some of them were high school students. However, it is clear that it is the older group that in their vast majority consists of high school graduates and presumably not students. It is the fourth option however which demonstrates that the sample is highly educated. Fifty-six percent of the first group, 68% of the second, 54% of the third and 40% of the fourth group stated that they are university or technical institution graduates or students. Regarding the final option, it was selected by a limited number of first group and last group participants (6% and 2%) with the former being due to the young age of participants and the latter to the adverse financial and political period during which they were raised. 14% of the second group and 11% of the third group stated that they were master's degree graduates or students.

In conclusion, since the results of previous analyses have illustrated that people of older age have a more conservative and austere attitude towards the use of English on television and suggest that it should be stopped, it can be argued that it is the less educated group that favours such views. However, it cannot be claimed with certainty which participants from the last group selected which options and the statistical insignificant results produced by the correlation of the educational level variable with other variables do not allow such speculations.

Figure 4.23 Educational level



In the above subchapter 4.2.1 all the statistical significant correlations between the age factor and other variables were examined. According to the results, younger participants were found to use English words to a greater extent than older informants, although the latter opted in certain cases for the English equivalent when presented with a pair of words representing the same notion in the two languages. Moreover, older participants expressed more negative views towards the reasons that lead Greek TV personalities to employ the English language, whilst younger respondents characterized them in greater percentages as ‘stupid’, ‘show-offs’ and ‘indifferent’. Older participants also demonstrated their austere stance towards the use of English on television by claiming that they dislike it and by suggesting that it should be stopped. On the other hand, younger participants were less negative as they proposed in their majority that such linguistic behaviour should be reduced, but not stopped. Furthermore, all respondents independently of their age stated that English language use by the media could influence the linguistic repertoire of the public, while older participants strongly expressed the view that the Greek language can be altered by the presence of English, however it cannot be threatened. Finally, as was expected for the reasons mentioned earlier, younger groups were found to be more proficient in English and more educated than older informants.

4.2.2 English proficiency level groups

Statistical analysis was also conducted in order to examine the relationship between the participants' level of English language proficiency and all the other variables. Unfortunately, the results were not found to be statistically significant for all variables, but only for some which will be analyzed in the following pages. All informants will be examined in separate categories on the basis of their English language acquisition level. These categories are: I speak English 'proficiently', 'very good', 'good', 'not good but I can participate in an everyday interaction', 'I cannot speak but I can understand', 'I cannot speak or understand'. For reasons of economy the categories were not typed in the bar charts that follow, but were replaced by the letters of the alphabet A, B, C, D, E and F ranging as we have just seen from those who speak English fluently to those who cannot speak English at all. Lastly, it should be stated that each group is not represented by an equal number of participants, due to the fact that this categorization was not considered to be as significant as the age and the gender factors and also because equal numbers were difficult to be acquired as this question consists of six different options.

Table 2 English proficiency level groups

	Proficiently	Very good	Good	Not good but I can participate in an everyday interaction	I cannot speak but I understand	I cannot speak or understand
Number of participants	31	78	108	57	58	68

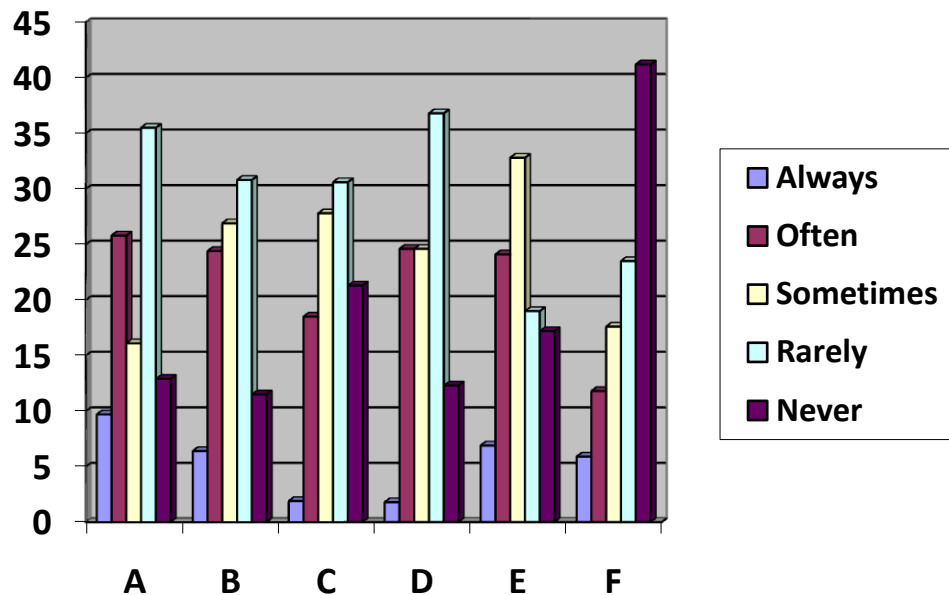
4.2.2.1 'The use of the word 'star'

Respondents were asked to provide information on the frequency by which they use a number of English loanwords presented to them by choosing one of the options 'always', 'often', 'sometimes', 'rarely' or 'never'. The word 'star' appeared to correlate significantly with the English acquisition level variable. Sixteen-point-seven percent of expected

frequencies were below 5 with the minimum expected count being 1.47. The correlation was highly significant (sig=.006 that is $p<.05$).

The results produced by the combination of these two variables yielded interesting information on the variation in the use of the specific English loanword between people who have acquired English to different extents. In fact, the variation is mostly apparent regarding the last option, namely 'never' which demonstrates the tendency of less capable English speakers never to use the word 'star' in contrast to more proficient speakers who have selected this option to a more limited extent. But firstly, the analysis of the responses in the other options should be provided. The first option 'always' was favoured by 9.7% of those who claimed to be proficient in English (A), but was selected only by a limited number of respondents in all other groups, especially by those who stated that their English acquisition level is good (C), or not good but allows them to take part in an everyday interaction (D). In the case of the second option 'often', it was chosen by 24 to 26% of groups A, B, D and E, whilst it was selected only by 11.8% of those belonging to the last group, in other words those who have claimed that they cannot communicate in English in any way. This signifies that the lack of English speaking and comprehension abilities lead to the limited use of English loanwords, at least as far as this example is concerned. The fourth option 'rarely' was chosen by the majority of the first four groups which indicates that the word 'star' is not that popular even to those who have acquired the English language to a considerable degree. Moreover, as was mentioned above, it is the last option available to the informants ('never') that clearly demonstrates a variation between the last group and all the others which was chosen by the overwhelming majority (41.2%) of those who have not acquired English at all.

Figure 4.24 The use of the word ‘star’



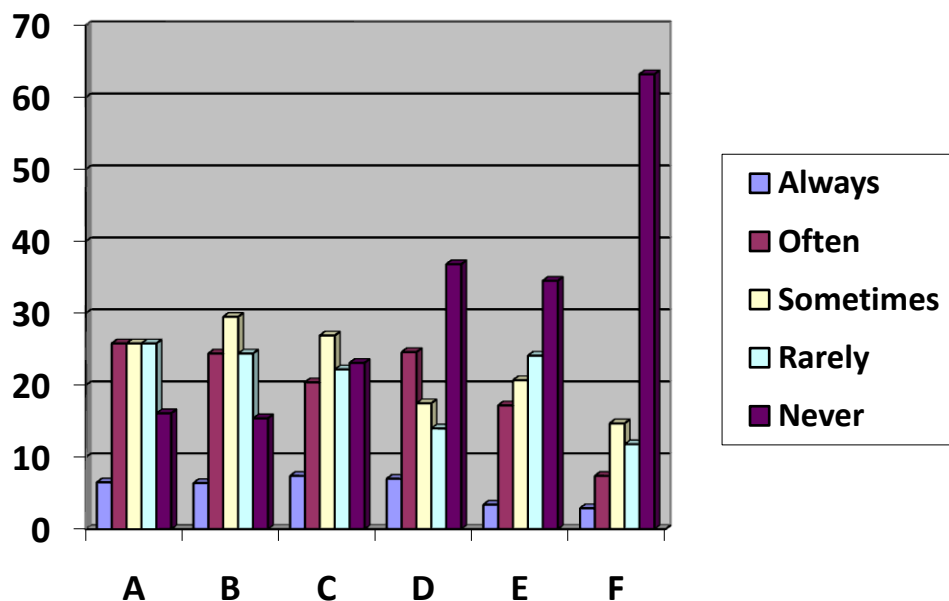
4.2.2.2 ‘The use of the word ‘trendy’

Moreover, respondents were questioned about the use of the word ‘trendy’ which too appears to produce highly statistically significant results. Only 16.7% of expected counts were under 5 with the minimum expected frequencies being 1.78. The significance value was estimated to be .000 ($p < .001$) which indicated that the correlation of the two variables is extremely meaningful.

The results of this correlation confirm what was observed earlier, that people who have no communicative abilities in English, both in speaking and comprehension, to a large percentage do not opt for the particular English loanwords, and in this particular case for the lexical item ‘trendy’. As the figure below illustrates, only a limited number of participants from all groups selected the first option (‘always’), whilst the second option (‘often’) was chosen by a significant number of informants of the first five groups by 25.8%, 24.4%, 20.4%, 24.6% and 17.2% respectively. Nevertheless, only 7.4% of the last group stated that they often use the word ‘trendy’. The third option ‘sometimes’ was favoured by the majority of the second and third group (29.5% and 26.9%), whilst it was also selected by 25.8% of the proficient group, by 17.5% of those who have the linguistic

abilities to participate in an ordinary interaction, by 20.4% of those who cannot speak the English language, albeit they understand it and finally by only 14.7% of the last group. The fourth option ‘rarely’ was selected by approximately an equal number of first, second, third and fifth group participants (25.8%, 24.4%, 22.2% and 24.1%), but presented lower percentages in groups D and F. Lastly, with regard to the final option ‘never’, it was preferred by the majority of the last three groups, in other words of the groups that have claimed to have extremely low levels of English acquisition. The most interesting fact is the fairly high percentage of the last group that favoured this option which reaches the impressive 63.2%. This confirms the tendency of less fluent groups not to use English loanwords, which is anticipated if we consider the fact they are not familiar with foreign lexical units.

Figure 4.25 The use of the word ‘trendy’



4.2.2.3 ‘The use of the word ‘e-mail’

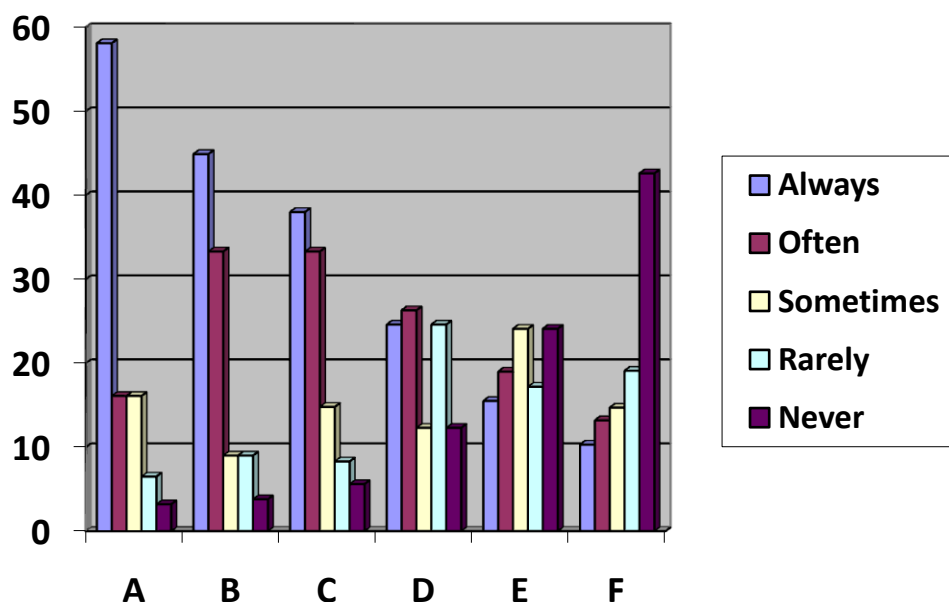
The analysis produced important results in the case of the word ‘e-mail’ which as was discussed in the previous sections, is a word that is widely used by those who are familiar with technology and the use of internet. The significance value for this correlation reached its minimum value and was estimated to be .000 ($p < .001$), thus there are no possibilities of

the results having occurred by chance. Only 10% of the expected counts were under 5. However, the minimum expected frequency was 4.26, therefore fulfilling the principles of the chi-square test.

The results of the correlation between this particular borrowing and the variable of English proficiency level indicated similar tendencies to what was observed earlier. In other words, once again the groups that consist of people who are less fluent in English presented a greater number of responses as far as the last option is concerned ('never') which signifies that they tend not to use the provided loanword. However, the difference in this correlation lies in the fact that it also demonstrated a decreasing tendency from group to group to use the aforementioned word all the time. More specifically, the first option was selected by the majorities of the first three groups by 58.1%, 44.9% and 38%, whilst it was favoured by 24.6% of the fourth group, 15.5% of the fifth group and by only 10.3% of the last group. Thus, the word appears to be more popular in groups that have acquired English to a significant extent than in those who have not. Furthermore, 16.1% of the proficient group, 9% of the second group, 14.8% of the third group, 12.3% of the fourth group, 24.1% of the fifth group and 14.7% of the last group, all stated that they use the borrowing 'e-mail' sometimes. In the case of the 'rarely' option, it was favoured by solely a limited number of participants in the first three groups and by 24.6%, 17.2% and 19.1% of the last three groups respectively. Finally, the last option, as was referred to above, demonstrated an increasing tendency as we move from the most fluent to the least fluent group. In particular, it was the minority of the first three groups who opted for this choice (3.2%, 3.8% and 5.6%). On the contrary, the percentages appear to double as we move from the fourth group onwards. More specifically, this option was selected by 12.3% of the fourth group, 24.1% of the fifth group and by a significant 42.6% of the last group. Hence, from what has been discussed in this section, it is safe to draw the conclusion that people who do not speak or understand English are less likely to use English words. Nevertheless, this is associated with the factor of age, as older informants claimed in their majority that they cannot speak or comprehend the English language, as has been already illustrated in figure 4.22. If the loglinear analysis which examines the relation between more than two variables, has not considered the correlation between age, English acquisition level and

specific loanword use to be insignificant, we could have investigated the variation between young and older participants who do not speak English. However, the results were not statistically meaningful and did not meet the conditions set by loglinear analysis and therefore we can only examine different tendencies through the analysis of only two variables at a time through the use of the chi-square test.

Figure 4.26 The use of the word ‘e-mail’



4.2.2.4 ‘Choose one word from the pair: laptop/φορητός υπολογιστής’

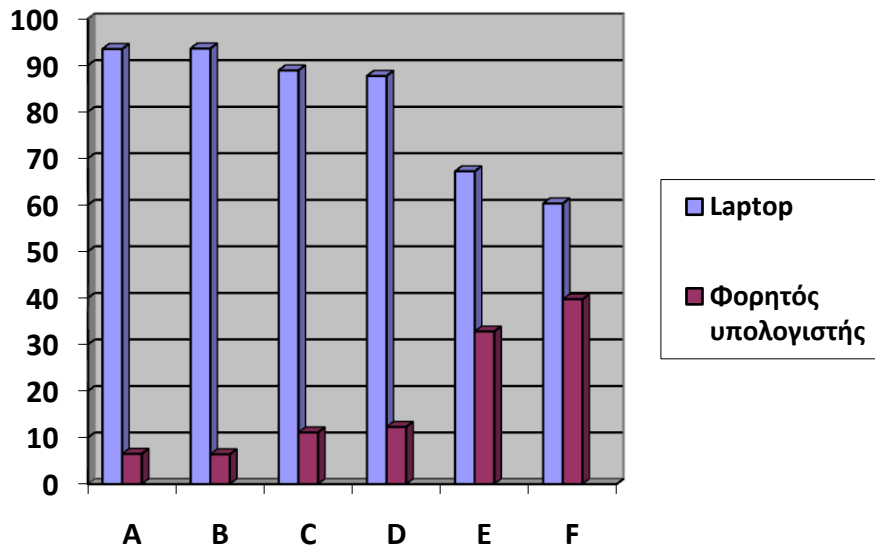
Turning now to the second section of questions provided to the participants, the results reveal a variation in the responses of different groups in terms of English proficiency level. Informants were asked to select one word from the pair laptop/φορητός υπολογιστής. This correlation was found to be highly significance, since the significance value was .000 (that is $p < .001$). There were no expected frequencies under 5 and the minimum expected count was estimated to be 5.58.

If we take a closer look at the results, we will observe an essential difference between those who speak English proficiently and those who have acquired English to a smaller extent or not at all. To further analyze that, participants belonging to the first groups demonstrate a

tendency to select the English loanword rather than the Greek corresponding term. Moreover, there is an increasing tendency of the informants as we move from the first to the last group to select the Greek equivalent word more than the English loanword. More specifically, the first group which consists of those who are proficient in English favoured the English word by 93.5% and the Greek term only by 6.5%. The second group comprises of those who are very good at speaking English and its results are similar to those of the first group. They opted for 'laptop' by 93.6% and for 'φορητός υπολογιστής' by 6.4%. The third group presents a slightly increased tendency of selecting the Greek lexical item (11.1%). This is also true for the fourth group who claimed not to speak English well, but stated that they can take part in an everyday interaction. They selected the English option by 87.7% and the Greek item by 12.3%. The next group consists of those who do not speak English, but who can understand English speakers to some extent. The variation in the results of this group increases even more, as the percentages of those who favoured the English item drop (67.2%), whilst those who selected the Greek corresponding word raise (32.8%). Nevertheless, it is the last group, in other words those who cannot communicate in any way in English that have chosen the Greek word by the highest percentage (60.3%), whereas they opted for the Greek term by 39.7%.

Therefore, from what has been described so far, it is clear that respondents who are less fluent in English tend to prefer the Greek word rather than the English loanword with the exact same meaning. However, although this tendency is evident, the vast majority of all participants opted for 'laptop' than for 'φορητός υπολογιστής'. This is due to the fact that computer related terminology has been closely associated with the English language, as it is the language in which such terms were firstly introduced. Furthermore, it is important to note the fairly high percentages of the first two groups in the selection of the English loanword. This supports the strong influence of English on the Greek language and the degree to which such borrowings are adopted and used on a daily basis.

Figure 4.27 Choose one word from the pair: laptop/φορητός υπολογιστής



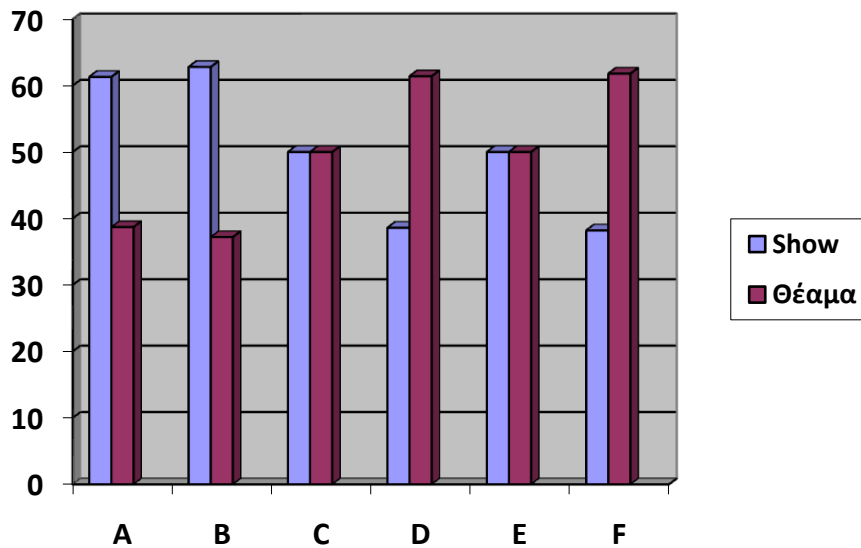
4.2.2.5 ‘Choose one word from the pair: show/θέαμα’

The next combination of variables indicates a strong variation between different groups as well. Informants were asked to select between the pair ‘show/ θέαμα’, that is between two words that express the same meaning, but belong to different linguistic systems. The statistical analysis of the chi-square test found the correlation to be significant. The significance value was .020 ($p < .05$) and all expected frequencies were above the required 5. In fact the minimum anticipated count was 15.42.

A quick observation of the results presented in the figure that follows shows that the first two groups render almost identical responses. In their majority, both groups who claim to be proficient or fluent in English have preferred the English term ‘show’ (61.3% and 62.8% respectively) to the Greek corresponding lexical item, which was too selected by a high percentage but not by the majority (38.7% and 37.2%). Groups C and E on the other hand, in other words those whose English acquisition is good and those who can only understand but do not have any speaking abilities, appear to be equally divided between the two options which were favoured by 50%. On the other hand, groups D and F in their vast majorities opted for ‘θέαμα’ by 61.4% and 61.8% respectively, whilst 38.6% and 38.2% selected the English item.

These results lead to the same conclusion that was drawn earlier, in other words to the conclusion that people who have not acquired English tend to prefer the use of native terms to the use of foreign lexical units. Of course, it should be pointed out once again, that these results are strongly related to the variable of age, since as we have seen older participants have fewer English linguistic abilities. Nonetheless, such tendency may be due to the fact that people who are not able to communicate in English, are less familiar with English terms, thus they do not opt for them with the same frequency as those who are fluent in English. It is also noteworthy that this pair of words is not associated with technological advancements, but with the show industry in the wider sense, which is not something that originated from an English-speaking country. Hence, both items are equally selected.

Figure 4.28 Choose one word from the pair: show/θέαμα

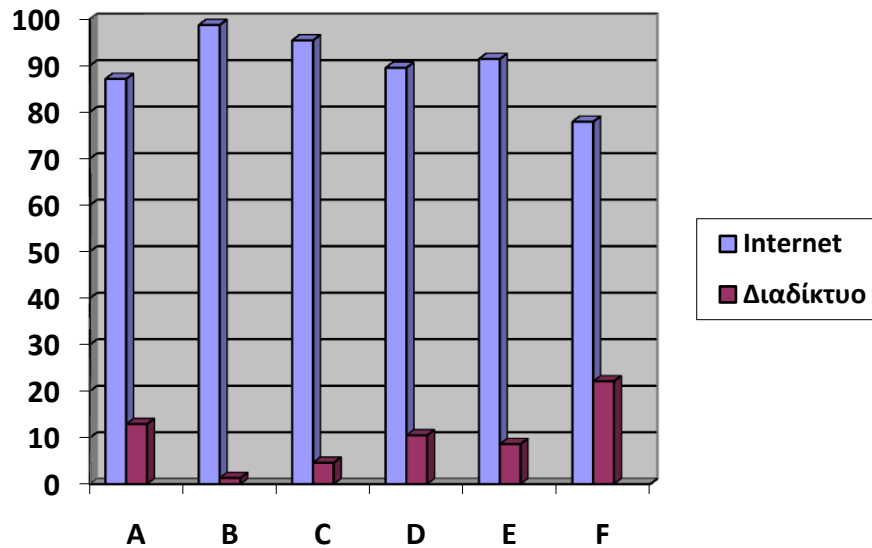


4.2.2.6 'Choose one word from the pair: internet/διαδίκτυο'

This relation also yielded statistically important findings. Informants were asked to choose between the lexical items internet and διαδίκτυο and their responses were examined on the basis of the English language proficiency level. The significance value was high (.000) and the crosstabulation resulted only in one cell being less than 5, that is 8.3% of the expected frequencies. However, the minimum expected count fulfilled the conditions set by the chi-square test, as it was greater than 1.

In the previous examples it was discussed that the English language is mostly employed in the case of computer-related terminology due to its unbreakable bond to English speaking countries where it was firstly developed. This is also true for the pair under analysis, since ‘internet’ is a widely used term in contrast to the Greek corresponding word which is not that commonly preferred. This is obvious from the results of all participants who in their overwhelming majority have favoured ‘internet’ rather than ‘διαδίκτυο’. To further analyze that all group selected the English loanword by 77.9% to 98.7%. The latter remarkable percentage was recorded by the responses of the second group, that is by those who have acquired English to a very good level. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there is a variation in the results of those who selected the Greek word. Groups B and C favoured this item by only a limited percentage (1.3% and 4.6% respectively), whilst groups A, D and E presented higher, albeit still small percentages for the aforementioned option (12.9%, 10.5% and 8.6%). However, the last group which consists of those who cannot communicate in English or understand rendered the highest number of responses regarding the selection of the Greek word. In particular 22.1% favoured this option which shows an increased tendency of the last group to prefer the Greek term. The percentage is certainly smaller than in all the other cases presented up to this point, nevertheless it confirms the overall tendency of informants who have not acquired English to a good extent or not at all, to demonstrate a greater preference to native lexical units in relation to other groups.

Figure 4.29 Choose one word from the pair: internet/διαδίκτυο

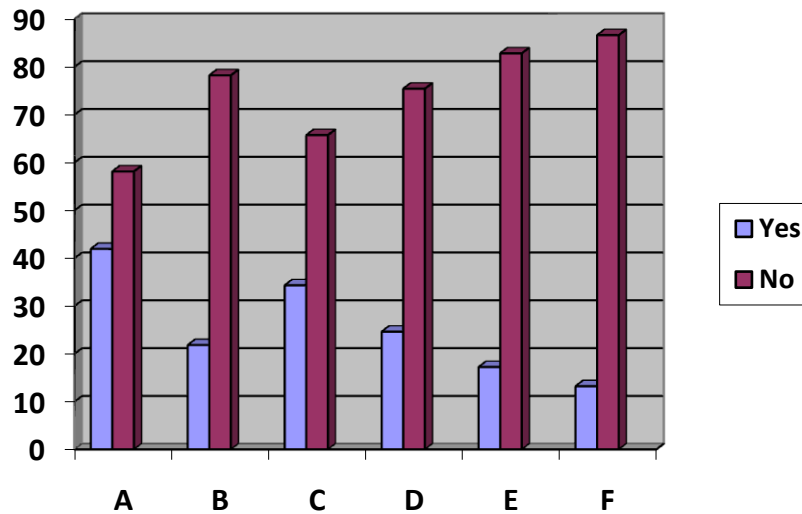


4.2.2.7 ‘Greek TV personalities who use English words are indifferent’

Participants were also asked to select among the seven adjectives mentioned earlier in this study in order to describe the personalities of people who use English lexical items on television. The correlation of the attribute ‘indifferent’ together with the English language level variable produced statistically significant result ($p=.005$, that is $p<0.50$).

The analysis of the results indicated a significant variation in the responses of the most proficient group and those of others. More specifically, an important 41.9% of the informants belonging to group A claimed that Greek TV personalities who employ the English language on television are ‘indifferent’ to them, a term which was referred to earlier in this chapter; in other words they do not provoke their interest in any possible way through this linguistic habit. Groups B, C and D opted for the same opinion by 21.8%, 34.3% and 24.6% respectively, whilst the remaining groups E and F selected this option by 17.2% and 13.2%. Therefore, the results reveal an essential difference in the attitudes of more proficient and less proficient speakers of English, as Greek speakers of English on television do not appear to provoke any kind of feelings or judgment in the case of the first, whereas the same does not hold true regarding less proficient groups, since they have apparently favoured other options.

Figure 4.30 Greek TV personalities who use English words are indifferent



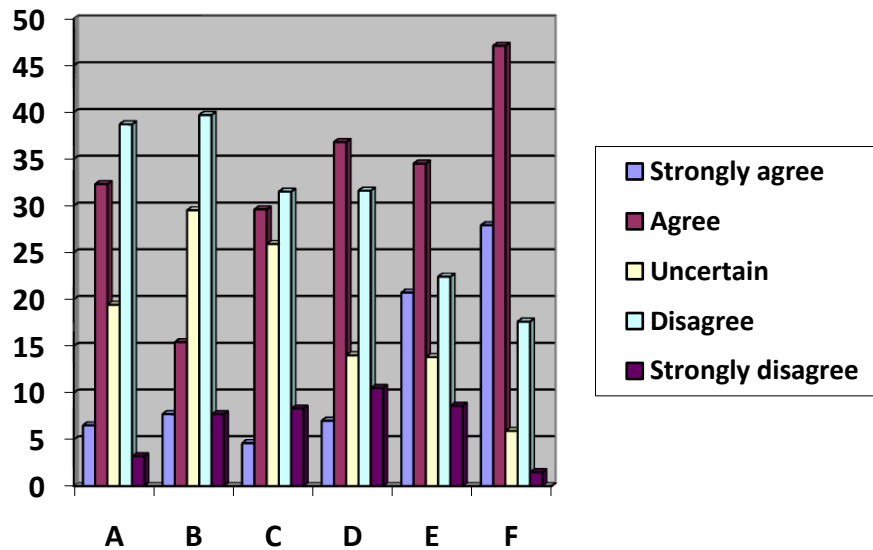
4.2.2.7 'People can use English words but not on television'

Turning now to another section of the questionnaire, informants were provided with a number of statements regarding the use of English words on television and were asked to state whether they 'strongly agree', 'agree', are 'uncertain', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' with each of these statements. The correlation of the English proficiency level variable and that of the statement 'people can use English words but not on television' generated interesting facts. The relation was found to be highly significant (.000) and there were 16.7% of expected counts under 5, whilst the minimum anticipated frequency was 2.17.

More specifically, the results demonstrate a significant variation between the first three and the last three groups. To express it in another way, there is an important differentiation in the responses of those who claimed to speak English at a proficient or good level and those whose English language acquisition is limited or non-existent. In greater detail, the majorities of groups A, B and C stated that they disagree with the statement claiming that people should use English on television by 38.7%, 39.7% and 31.5% respectively. However, it should be mentioned that informants belonging to groups A and C also stated that they agree with a statement by 32.3% and 29.6%. On the other hand, the last three

groups in their majority claimed that they agree with the statements by 36.8%, 34.5% and the overwhelming 47.1%. So far, it is obvious that the participants who have fewer English language abilities are in favour of the given statement and believe that people are free to use English words, but not on such a popular medium as television, whilst those who are fluent in English express the opposite view. This is far more evident by the comparison of the sum of those who agree with or without reservations with that of those who disagree strongly or not from each group. In total 38.8% of the first group agree with the statement and 41.9% disagree, which indicates a minor, but still important tendency towards agreement. The second group was found to agree by 23.1% and to disagree by 47.4% in total, a result that demonstrates a more concrete majority. In the case of the third group, those who agree in total are represented by 34.2% and those who selected the options showing disagreement by 39.8%. Moreover, 43.8% of the fourth group agree with the statement, whereas a slighter smaller percentage appears to disagree (42.1%). Hence, a minor difference in the responses between those who speak English well and those who do not is obvious by the results of the fourth group. Nevertheless, the added percentages of agreement and disagreement of the next two groups demonstrate an even stronger tendency. The penultimate group has claimed to agree with the statement by 55.2% and to disagree by 31%. Finally, the last group, that is those who have not acquired English to any degree stated that they agree in total with the aforementioned phrase by the overwhelming 75% and that they disagree only by 19.1%. Therefore, the results of the last two groups indicate a clear tendency of those who have not acquired English to a good extent or to any extent to express a more austere attitude towards the use of English on television. Of course as was referred earlier, this is closely associated with the age factor, as older informants have claimed in their majority not to have acquired the English language. Moreover, it is worth pointing out that the first three groups present the highest percentages of uncertainty (19.4%, 29.5% and 25.9% respectively), a characteristic which was also noticed in the case of young age groups, a finding which is expected taking into consideration that younger groups are also more fluent in English.

Figure 4.31 People can use English words but not on television



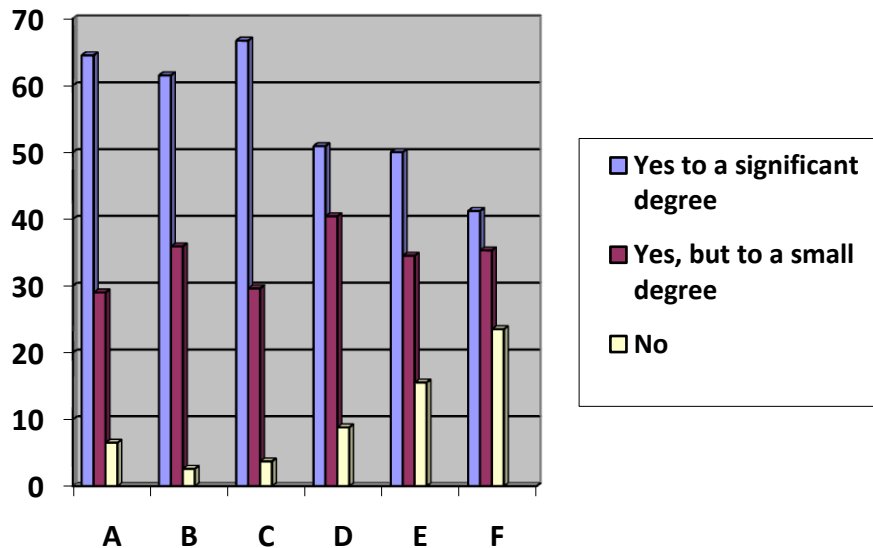
4.2.2.8 ‘Do you believe that the use of the English language on the Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public?’

Respondents were also questioned about the possible influence of the presence of English on television on the linguistic repertoire of the Greek public. The options available to the informants were the following: ‘yes to a significant degree’, ‘yes, but to a small degree’ or ‘no’. The correlation of their responses and their level of English language proficiency produced highly significant statistical results. In fact, significance value level was found to be the minimum possible (.000) and there were only 5.6% of expected frequencies under 5. The minimum anticipated count was 2.95.

All groups in their majority selected the first option with overwhelming percentages especially in the case of the first three groups. More specifically, the first group claimed that the lexicon of the Greek public can be affected to a significant degree by the use of English on television by 64.5%. The second group also agreed with this belief by 61.5%, whilst 66.7% of the third group expressed the same view. The next three groups appear to record smaller percentages. The fourth group argued that this influence can reach a significant extent by 50.9%, the fifth group by 50%, while the last group presented the smallest percentage of all groups (41.2%). Hence, participants who are more fluent in

English appear to believe strongly that the occurrence of language contact phenomena on television can affect the linguistic behaviour of the public to an important degree. Similarly, informants who are less fluent or have not acquired English to any level seem to support this view to a lesser degree, but still in their majority. As far as the second option is concerned all groups favoured it by 29-40% with those whose English language skills simply allow them to participate in an everyday interaction (group D) demonstrating the highest percentage. Nevertheless, it is the third alternative that presents the strongest variation between groups of different English proficiency levels. The first three groups argued that the lexicon of the public cannot be influenced by the use of English on television by a limited percentage (6.5%, 2.6% and 3.7% respectively). The fourth group has selected this option by 8.8% and the number of responses appears to increase regarding the last two groups. In particular, 15.5% of those who cannot speak English, but who can still understand claimed that English presence on Greek TV programmes cannot affect the linguistic repertoire of the public, while the last group favoured this option by 23.5%. Therefore, an increasing tendency can be observed in the last three groups with regard to the selection of the third choice. In other words, people who have not acquired English to a satisfactory extent, or not at all appear to be more certain about the homogeneity and pureness of the Greek language and claim that the occurrence of English words or phrases on television cannot cause any effect on the linguistic habits of viewers.

Figure 4.32 Do you believe that the use of the English language on the Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public?



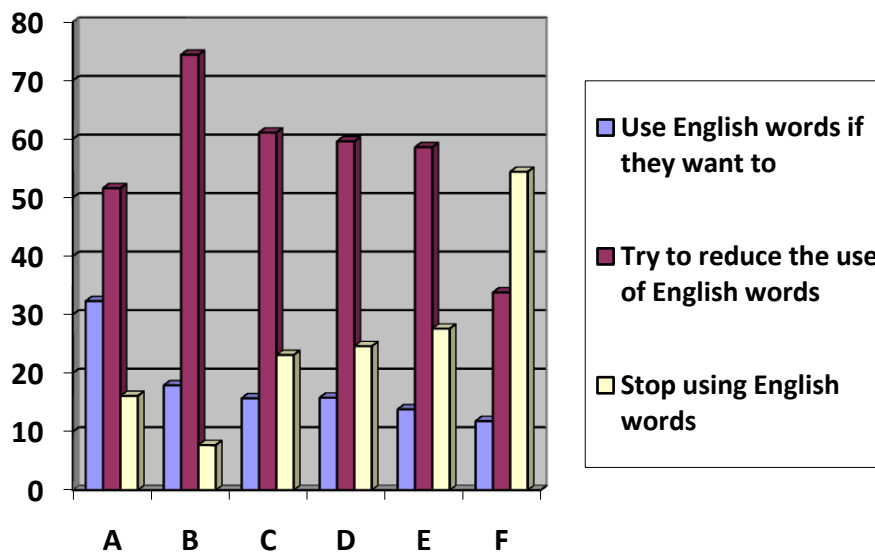
4.2.2.9 'Do you believe that people appearing on Greek television should...'

Turning now to another question provided to the informants, they were asked whether Greek TV personalities should 'use English words or phrases if they want to', 'try to reduce the use of English words or phrases' or 'stop using English words'. The responses to this multiple choice question in relation to informants' status as English speakers yielded interesting results. The correlation was found to be highly significant (.000 with $p < .001$) and there were no expected counts under 5. The minimum expected frequency was estimated to be 5.12.

The first five groups in their majority favoured the second option, that is they claimed that people appearing on Greek television should try to reduce the use of English words. In more detail, this option was selected by 51.6%, 74.4%, 61.1%, 59.6% and 58.6% respectively. Hence, it can be argued that all five groups independently of the level to which they have acquired the English language believe that the frequency of English words occurrence is higher that it should be and propose a reduction in its number. This indicates a negative attitude from the part of all informants toward the excessive use of English on Greek TV programmes. Furthermore, the results of the first option demonstrate a

decreasing tendency as we move from the first to the last group. More specifically, group A, in other words those who speak English proficiently, argued in favour of the use of English words on television by a significant 32.3%. The next five groups presented smaller percentages in regard to this option with the last group having the most limited number of responses (11.8%). Finally, the results of the last option show a significant variation between the first two and the last four groups. Groups A and B agreed only by 16.1% and 7.7% that people appearing on television should stop employing English lexical items. Groups C, D and E however present higher percentages in the selection of this option, while the last group favoured it in its vast majority by 54.4%. Hence, as was mentioned before it is apparent that people who have not acquired English at any level express a more austere and negative attitude towards the use of English on television. This is certainly again associated with the age of the participants, since the last group mostly consists of people of older age, thus it is the combination of age and English language acquisition that shapes the results.

Figure 4.33 Do you believe that people appearing on Greek television should...



4.2.2.10 'The use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language'

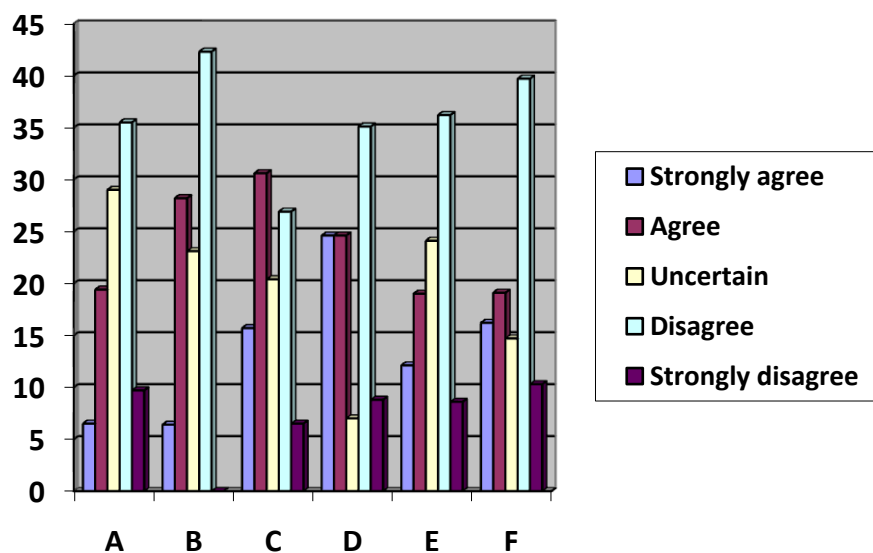
As we have seen in the previous section of this chapter, informants were also provided with a number of statements for which they had to state whether they strongly agree, agree, are

uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree with them. One of the statements they were presented with is the following: ‘the use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language’. The relation of the participants’ responses to this statement together with the variable of English language proficiency level produced statistically important results. The significance value was estimated to be .035 ($p < .05$) and there were 16.7% of expected frequencies under 5 with the minimum expected count being 2.09, thus the required criteria set by the chi-square test were met once again.

A significant number of participants from all groups stated that they agree with the aforementioned statement. More specifically 19.4% of the first group, 28.2% of the second group, the majority of the third group (30.6%), 24.6% of the fourth group, only 19% of the penultimate group and 19.1% of the last group claimed that the use of English by television and the mass media in general is a threat to the Greek language. On the other hand, the majorities of all groups except group C stated that they disagree with this view. To further analyze that, 35.5% of group A, 42.3% of the second group, 26.9% of the third group, 35.1% of the fourth group, 36.2% of the fifth group and finally 39.7 of the last group they all selected the fourth option (‘I disagree’). Thus, it is clear that apart from those who have acquired English to a good extent, all the other informants appear certain and more secure about the future of their native tongue and believe that the use of English language by the mass media cannot threaten Greek. It is also interesting however, to observe the differences between the sums of those who agree and disagree with or without reservations from each group. Regarding the first group or in other words those who are proficient in English, in total 25.9% agree with the statement, whilst 45.2% disagree or strongly disagree. Thirty-four-point-six percent of the second group also agree, whereas 42.3% disagree (not strongly), as no one of its members opted for the last available selection. Forty-six-point-three percent of those who stated that their English acquisition level is good claimed that English as used by the media is a threat to Greek, with 33.4% standing in favour of the opposite. Thus, in the case of the third group, the vast majority of its members consider the presence of English in the Greek media a possible danger to the Greek language. The addition of the sums regarding the fourth group also demonstrates a tendency of its participants to agree by 49.2%, while they disagree in total by 42.9%. This

is not true for informants belonging to the fifth group who favoured the first two options by 31.1% and the last two by 44.8%. Finally, those who have not acquired English at any level agree with the given statement by 35.3%, whilst they disagree by the overwhelming 50%. Therefore, the results indicate that people belonging to the last two groups, in other words those whose English abilities are not good, appear to express in a stronger way their disagreement to the statement. On the other side of the spectrum stand groups C and D which demonstrate a tendency to agree with the belief that the occurrence of English words in the Greek media can threaten the future of the Greek language. Lastly, it is noteworthy that groups A, B, C and E present high percentages of uncertainty (29%, 23.1%, 20.4% and 24.1% respectively).

Figure 4.34 The use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language



In section 4.2.3 the statistical meaningful correlations of the English proficiency level variable and others were presented and analyzed. The analysis indicated that more proficient speakers use English lexical items to a greater extent and opt for the English equivalent more than non-fluent speakers of English. Additionally, more capable speakers of English were found to be less negative about the use of English on television than those who have issues in communicating in English. Also, informants who lack English speaking abilities strongly claimed that Greek TV personalities should stop employing

English words or phrases as well as that Greek cannot be threatened by the use of English on television and the mass media.

4.2.3 Gender groups

Participants were also examined on the basis of their gender in an attempt to discover any variation between the answers of men and women. Both sexes are equally represented in this project by 200 informants each, 50 for each age group. Of course the main purpose of this study is to trace diverse tendencies between different age groups; however it is interesting to examine any possible differentiation in the attitudes and beliefs of male and female participants. Moreover, it should be noted that not all correlations of variables produced statistically significant results, but only a limited number of occasions did which will be analyzed in the sections that follow.

Table 3 Gender groups

	Male	Female
Number of participants	200	200

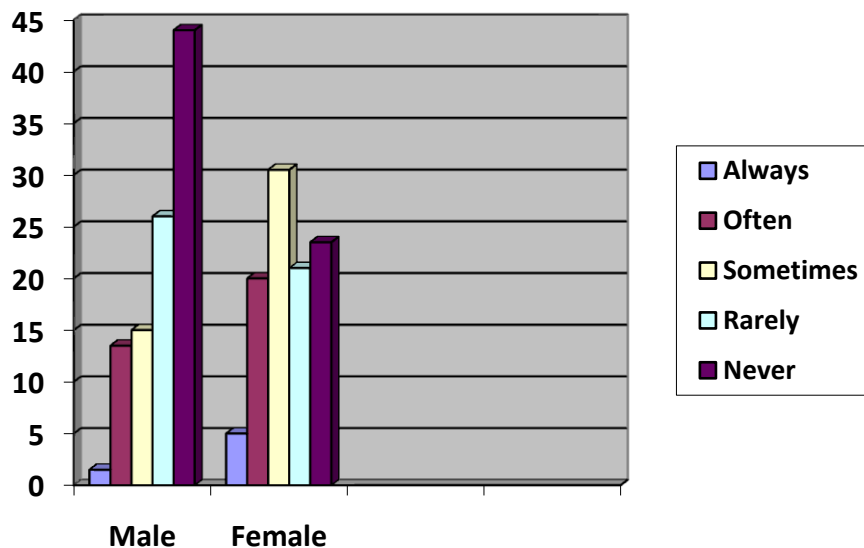
4.2.3.1 The use of the word ‘shopping’

As we have discussed in the analysis of previous correlations, participants were provided with thirteen English loanwords and they were asked to state whether they use each of these lexical items: ‘always’, ‘often’, ‘sometimes’, ‘rarely’ or ‘never’. The correlation of the gender variable and that of the use of the word ‘shopping’ produce highly significant results, as the significance value was .000. Furthermore, all expected frequencies were above 5, with the minimum anticipated count being 6.50.

The results indicated a variation between the responses of men and women especially in the case of the last option available to the participants. Regarding the first option (‘always’) it was favoured by both sexes by limited percentages (1.5% and 5% respectively for men and

women). Moreover, 13.5% of male informants and 20% of female informants claimed that they often use the given loanword. As far as the third option is concerned there is a higher tendency in the case of women to use the lexical item sometimes, as this option was selected by the majority of the female group (30.5%), whilst men favoured it only by 15%. The results for the fourth option do not present any interest since both groups stated that they rarely use the provided word by approximately the same percentages (26% and 21%). Nevertheless, the last option reveals an important differentiation in the frequency of the use of ‘shopping’ as the vast majority of the male group (44%) claimed to never use the borrowing, while only 23.5% of the female group opted for the same choice. This demonstrates a tendency of men not to use the English word or in other words a tendency of women to employ ‘shopping’ more often than men.

Figure 4.35 The use of the word ‘shopping’

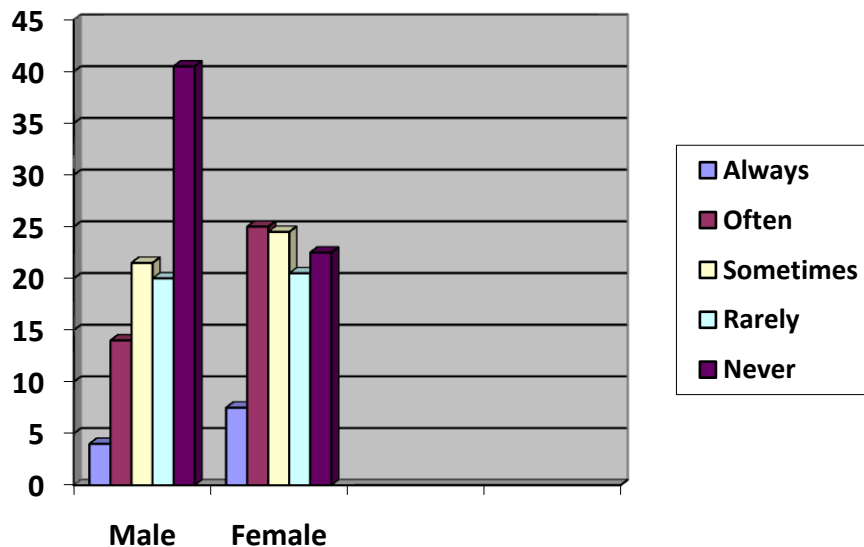


4.2.3.2 The use of the word ‘trendy’

The next relation of variables involves gender and the use of the word ‘trendy’. The results of the chi-square test show again a highly significant correlation, with the significance value being .001 and no expected counts under 5.

Only a limited number of participants from both groups stated that they always use the word ‘trendy’ with the female group presenting a slightly higher percentage (4% and 7.5%). However, the variation on the responses regarding the second option is quite significant since only 14% of male participants selected it, while the majority of women favoured it (25%). In the case of the third option, both groups selected it by approximately the same percentage (21.5% and 24.5% respectively). This is true even to a larger extent in regard to the penultimate option, that is ‘rarely’ which was preferred by 20% of male informants and 20.5% of female informants. Nevertheless, as was observed in the previous correlation, there is a strong differentiation in the responses concerning the last option. The majority of men (40.5%) claimed that they never use the given word, whilst 22.5% selected this option. Hence, again men tend not to prefer to use English loanwords. Women on the other hand demonstrate higher levels of frequency in the use of the lexical units that have been examined so far.

Figure 4.36 The use of the word ‘trendy’



4.2.3.3 ‘Why do you think Greek TV personalities use English words?’

Participants were also asked about the reasons that lead Greek TV personalities to use English words. The options provided to the informants were the following: ‘because everybody uses English nowadays, it is a common phenomenon’, ‘because they want to

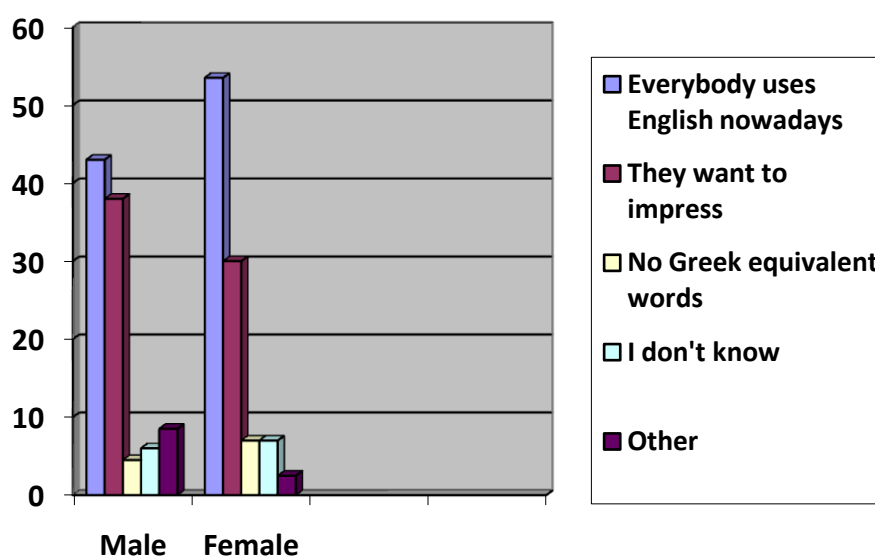
impress with their linguistic abilities', 'because there are no equivalent Greek words for certain notions', 'I don't know' or 'other'. The correlation between this variable and that of gender generated statistically significant results. The significance value was estimated to be .018 ($p < .05$) and all expected frequencies were greater than the required 5.

The analysis of the results does not demonstrate a strong variation in the responses of the two sex groups, since both of them in their majority claimed that people appearing on Greek television employ English loanwords because this linguistic behaviour has become a common phenomenon. More specifically, 43% of male and 53.5% of female participants favoured this option. The difference in the percentages of men and women indicates a stronger tendency in the case of female informants to select this option which signifies that women are more open towards the use of English words than men. Moreover, the two groups appear to agree as well with regard to the second most favoured option. Thirty-eight percent of men and 30% of women argued that the use of English language on television is due to the TV personalities' need to promote their linguistic abilities and to demonstrate their linguistic expertise. The results show that male respondents support to a greater extent this option, whilst female participants appear to be less critical. The last three options were selected only by a limited number of participants. In detail, only 4.5% of men and 7% of women stated that the occurrence of English words is due to the lack of corresponding Greek terms. This signifies that the majority of participants are aware that core borrowings are employed by TV personalities as well as cultural borrowings. Furthermore, 6% of male and 7% of female informants declared their ignorance about the reasons for loanword use and code-switching on Greek television. Finally, 8.5% of men and only 2.5% provided other reasons for these language contact phenomena. These responses as was seen in previous sections include statements such as: 'they use English words unintentionally', 'to make fool of themselves', 'they lack lexicon' (that is they have a poor vocabulary), 'it has become a fashion', 'to approach their audience', 'because it is easier for them, they do not have to think of the Greek equivalent', 'it is the language of our era', 'because they are unaware of the corresponding Greek words', 'it is a matter of fashion', 'they think that in this way their status rises', 'it depends on the level of the show

and its participants', 'their knowledge of Greek is insufficient', 'English is an international language' and other.

Thus, a number of participants claimed that the use of English on television is due to the insufficient acquisition of the Greek language, which is rather oxymoron if we consider the fact that the TV personalities in question are native speakers of Greek. Others however attribute the occurrences of English lexical items to a recent trend or fashion, whilst some believe that the use of English helps TV personalities to approach an audience which favours such linguistic blends as well. Nevertheless, the majority of all participants believe that the use of English is a common phenomenon; hence it also occurs on television which in a way reflects reality.

Figure 4.37 Why do you think Greek TV personalities use English words?

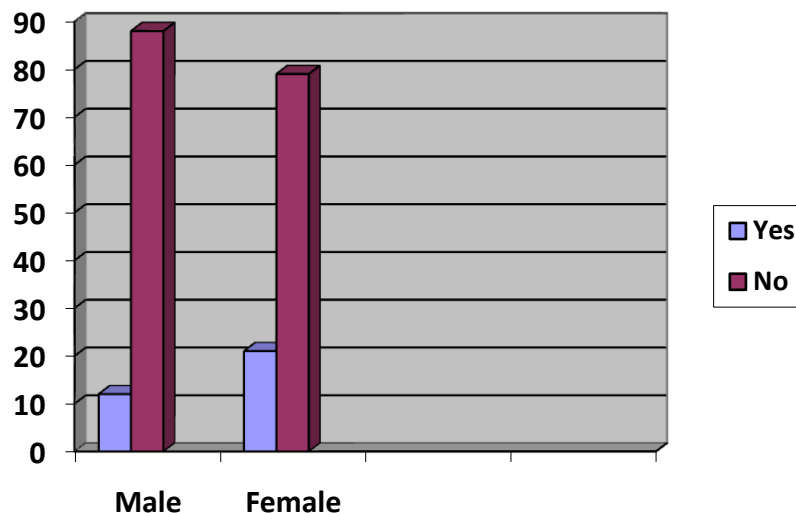


Turning now to another part of the questionnaire, participants were provided with seven adjectives namely 'trendy', 'stupid', 'arrogant', 'intelligent', 'educated', 'show-offs' and 'indifferent' and were asked to choose any of these in order to describe Greek television personalities who use English lexical items on television. Two variables produced statistically meaningful results in relation to the gender factor: 'educated' and 'indifferent'.

4.2.3.4 ‘Greek TV personalities who use English words are educated’

The statistical analysis of the first was found to be significant ($p=.015$ with no expected values below 5). As illustrated in the figure that follows both male and female informants demonstrated a similar tendency towards this particular attribute of the subject in question with a slight differentiation in numbers. In particular, 12% of men and 21% of women opted for this option. Although female participants present higher percentages, what is important to point out is that in general both sexes do not consider the term ‘educated’ as the most appropriate to describe people who use English items on Greek television because only a limited number of both sexes favoured it.

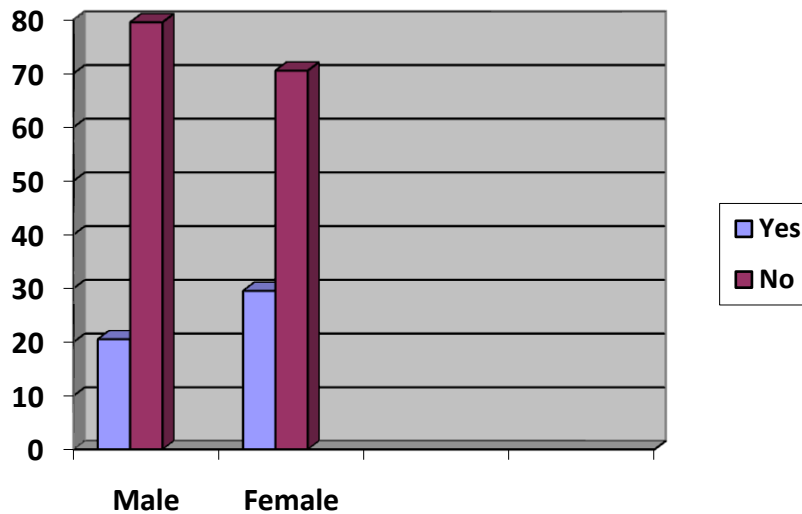
Figure 4.38 Greek TV personalities who use English words are educated



4.2.3.5 ‘Greek TV personalities who use English words are indifferent’

The analysis of the variable ‘indifferent’ with that of the gender factor was found to be significant with $p<.050$. Female respondents opted for this choice by 29.5% whilst male participants selected it by 20.5%. Again, although the difference in the percentages is not large, however, it can be safely stated that women appear to be less concerned about those who employ English on Greek television than men.

Figure 4.39 Greek TV personalities who use English words are indifferent



To summarize the above, the gender variable was found to correlate with statistically significant results with a limited number of variables. Nevertheless, the analysis of these correlations demonstrated that female respondents tend to use English words more than male participants, that male informants have a more negative stance towards the reasons that lead Greek television personalities to occasionally employ the English language and finally that women appear to care less about the people who practice this type of linguistic behaviour.

4.2.4 Educational level groups

Finally, participants' results were examined on the basis of their educational level in correlation with the rest of the variables. Such analysis aims to locate the different attitudes between people of diverse educational backgrounds on the use of English by Greek television and the extent to which it affects the Greek language and its future. However, due to the limited number of responses in some of the proposed categories (i.e. primary school graduate) the crosstabulation of variables did not produce statistically significant results for the majority of correlations. For that reason, only the four correlations of variables that demonstrate statistical importance will be presented and discussed. Moreover, it should be stated that groups' categories are replaced for reasons of economy

by the letters of the alphabet, ranging from the lowest educational level to the highest. More specifically group A represents primary school graduates, group B junior high school graduates, group C high school graduates/students, group D university graduates or students (public and private university as well as technical school students or graduates) and lastly group E is represented by master's degree graduates or students. Finally, it should be mentioned, that groups do not consist of the same number of participants as their categorization on the basis of educational background was not the primary concern of the present study, thus the selection of an equal number of questionnaires from each group was not one of its aims.

Table 4 Educational level groups

	Primary school graduates	Junior-high graduates	Highschool students/graduates	University students/graduate	Master's degree students/graduates
Number of participants	17	29	103	218	33

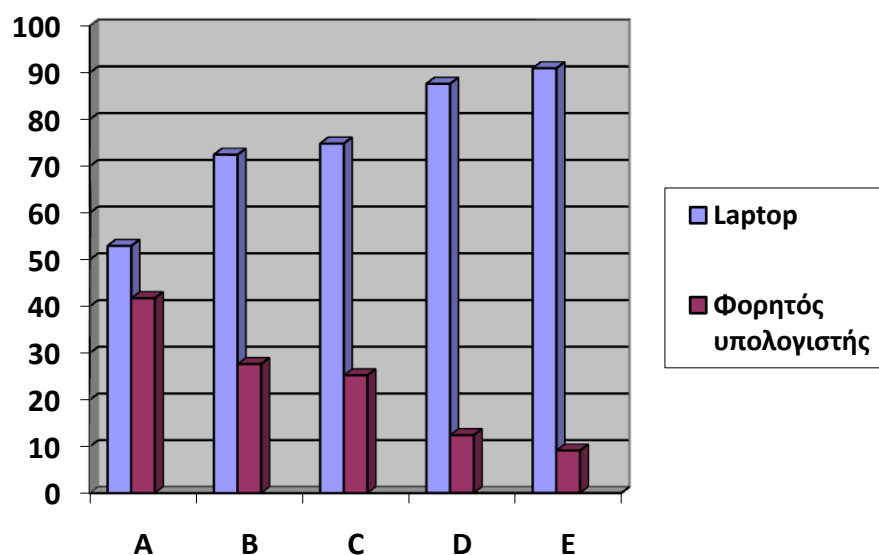
4.2.4.1 'Choose one word from the pair: laptop/φορητός υπολογιστής'

Informants were asked to choose between the English lexical item 'laptop' and its Greek corresponding term 'φορητός υπολογιστής'. The analysis of this correlation generated significant information regarding the linguistic choices between groups of different educational status. Its significance value was .000, with only 10% of expected frequencies under 5, while the minimum expected count was 3.06.

The results demonstrate a continuous increasing tendency of participants to opt for the English term as we move from the least educated to the most educated group. In general all groups in their majority selected the English loanword, however the variation between the two available options increases in the case of the more educated informants. In more detail, the first group appears divided between the two options, with 52.9% selecting 'laptop' whilst 47.1% preferred the Greek equivalent word. The next two groups which consist of secondary education graduates or students present similar results. Seventy-two-point-four

percent of the second group and 74.8% of the third group showed their preference towards the English lexical item, whereas 27.6% and 25.2% respectively selected the Greek corresponding term. Hence, the variation between group A and the two groups that follow is evident by the significantly lower percentages of groups B and C regarding the second option. This variation is even stronger when we observe the results of the last two groups. In particular, the fourth group in its overwhelming majority opted for the English loanword (87.6%), whereas only 12.4% favoured the Greek choice. Similarly the last group, those that is who are master's degree graduates or students, selected the first option by 90.9% and the second only by 9.1%. It is clear that there is a significant differentiation in the responses of the first and the last group and there appears to be a gradually increasing tendency of participants to prefer the English borrowing from its Greek equivalent. In other words, informants of lower educational levels tend to use less the aforementioned English word, whilst participants representing higher educational levels demonstrate their strong preference for the foreign item. In an effort to relate these results to the age variable, it should be pointed out that Group A consists of people aging from 16-25, 35-55 and 56 and above with the last two groups presenting higher percentages. Thus, it can be claimed that the majority of the participants who are primary school graduates belong to older age groups who as was discussed earlier appear less eager to use the English loanword.

Figure 4.40 Choose on word from the pair: laptop/φορητός υπολογιστής

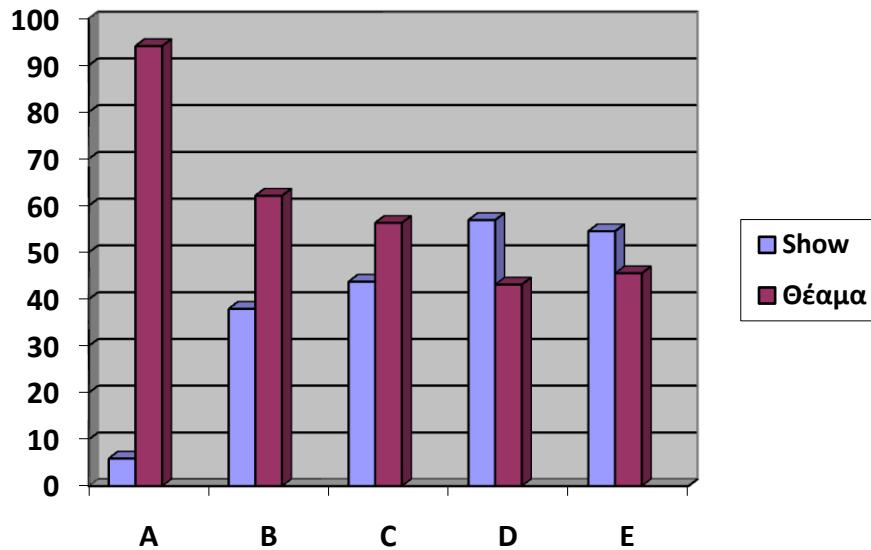


4.2.4.2 ‘Choose one word from the pair: show/θέαμα’

The correlation between the variable of educational level and that of ‘choose one word from the pair show/θέαμα’ also generated highly significant results. The significance value was estimated to be .000 ($p < .001$) and there were no expected frequencies under 5.

The responses of the participants indicate once again a difference between groups of lower educational background and groups of higher educational level. More specifically, group A, in other words primary school graduates selected in their overwhelming majority (94.1%) the Greek word ‘θέαμα’ rather than the corresponding English term. The same holds true for groups B and C which favoured the Greek item by 62.1% and 56.3% respectively. In contrast, 37.9% of group B and a significant 43.7% of group C opted for ‘show’. Nevertheless, the results of the two more educated groups appear to be different as in their majority both groups favoured the English loanword by 56.9% and 54.5%, whilst the rest 43.1% of the fourth group and 45.5% of the last group preferred the Greek equivalent term. This variation again demonstrates a tendency of less educated groups to use the Greek provided word, as well as a tendency of more educated groups to employ the English loanword. Hence, based on the responses of participants in 4.2.4.1 it can be claimed that in general lower educational level informants demonstrate a greater preference towards native lexical units. Additionally, it can be argued in terms of age that the two older age groups which constitute the majority of primary school graduates, together with the participants belonging to the youngest age group which comprises the majority of junior high school graduates tend to prefer the Greek word ‘θέαμα’ from its English equivalent.

Figure 4.41 Choose one word from the pair: show/θέαμα

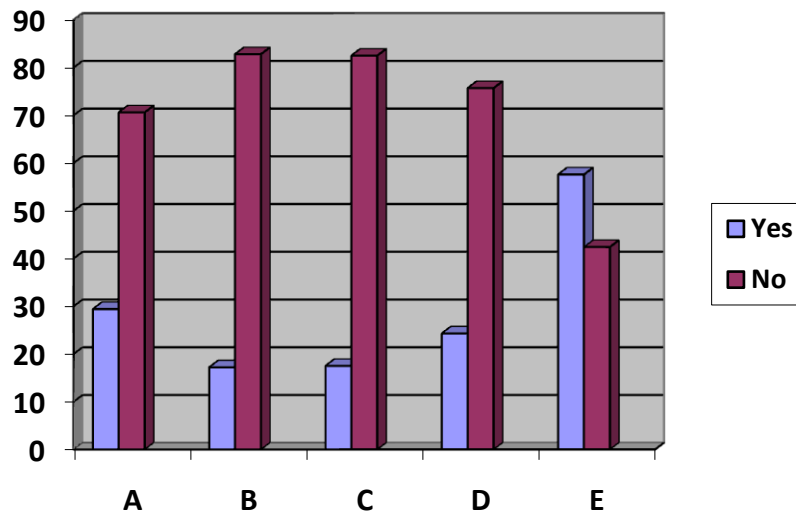


4.2.4.3 'Greek TV personalities who use English words are indifferent'

As mentioned earlier, participants were provided with some adjectives in order to describe the personalities of people who use English words or phrases on Greek television. The correlation of the responses regarding the word 'indifferent' and the education variable was found to be highly significant ($p=.000$) with only one expected value below 5, but above 1 (4.25).

The results reveal a variation between the least educated and the most educated informants. More specifically, 29.4% of primary school graduates, 17.2% of junior high school graduates, 17.5% of high school graduates/students, 24.3% of university/technical institutions graduates/students and an impressive 57.6% of master's degree graduates/students have all favoured this option. It is clear that the most educated group in its majority claims that such personalities do not cause any interest to them, whilst also a significant percentage of the least educated group appears to agree. In terms of the remaining groups, it appears by their limited percentages that they have favoured other choices.

Figure 4.42 Greek TV personalities who use English words are indifferent



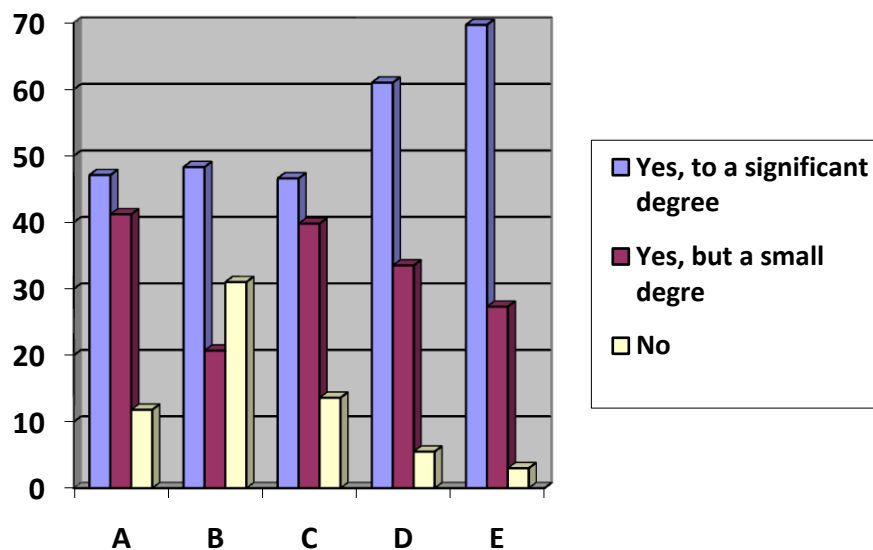
4.2.4.4 ‘Do you believe that the use of the English language on Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public?’

Participants were also asked to provide their opinion on whether the use of English on Greek television programmes can influence the linguistic repertoire of the public. The correlation of this variable together with that of educational level produced highly important statistical results. The significance value was .000 and there were 20% of expected frequencies under the required 5. However, all these counts were greater than 1 which renders greater reliability to the results.

All groups in their majority claimed that the occurrence of English words on Greek television can affect the lexicon of the public to a significant extent. More specifically, 47.1% of the first group, 48.3% of the second, 46.6% of the third, 61% of the fourth and finally 69.7% of the last group all consider the use of English on television fairly influential. Nevertheless, what should be pointed out are the increased figures in the case of the last two groups. Hence, it can be argued that more educated informants express a stronger concern about the use of foreign lexical items on television. In contrast, it is one of the less educated groups, namely junior high school graduates who claim that the Greek language cannot be affected by the use of English on television. In particular, a significant

31% of the second group selected the third option 'no'. On the other hand, the number of responses for this particular choice drops in the case of groups D and E, which are represented by more educated participants. Only 5.5% of university/technical institutions students and graduates claimed that the public's lexicon cannot be influenced by the occurrence of English words on television and an even smaller 3% of the last group agreed with this view. These results reveal that more educated informants appear certain about the influence of English on Greek speakers, whilst less educated respondents argue to a greater extent that such influence is not a possibility. With regard to the second option 'yes, but only to a small degree' all groups favoured it by significant percentages. In greater detail, group A selected it by 41.2%, group B by 20.7%, group C by 39.8%, Group D by 33.5% and lastly group E by 27.3%. Thus, independently of their educational background, a large percentage of all informants stated that the use of English on television can affect the linguistic habits of the Greek public, but only to a limited extent.

Figure 4.43 Do you believe that the use of the English language on Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public?



In conclusion, section 4.2.4 focused on the main variations between different educational groups regarding some of the variables used in this project. According to the results, less educated participants use the provided English words less frequently than more educated informants and tend to opt more for the Greek equivalent item when presented with a pair

of words, one in each language. In addition to that, more educated respondents characterized individuals employing English words on Greek television as ‘indifferent’, whilst informants who have received lower education selected other options. Finally, more educated groups claimed that the use of the English language on Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public to a greater extent than less educated respondents.

4.2.5 Participants’ comments

At the final part participants were asked to provide their comments on the questionnaire and to evaluate how easy it was to be completed. The majority of respondents claimed that it was easy to fill out and did not provide any comment, but there were some who wished to state their views on the easiness and usefulness of the questionnaire as well as on its topic. Some claimed that it was particularly interesting and that it revolved around a dominant topic, others that its questions were clear, accurate and well-aimed. On the other hand, some informants stated that some questions were unclear and not elaborated enough or that they required more available options and others were annoyed by the fact that similar questions were used with different wording. The latter of course was purposefully done, so as to examine the consistency in the responses of the participants and there were a few subjects who realized the reason behind the use of different words. Moreover, one respondent suggested that questions should have also focused on the influence of English language use by the media on the structure of children’s thought. Another one argued that more general questions should have been asked because the boundaries of interaction between the two languages are not clear. Additionally, one informant suggested that the questionnaire should be distributed in schools in order for students to realize the importance of the Greek language. In terms of the topic, there were many who stated that Greeks should stop using English words as the Greek language is particularly rich and the root of all languages, while others claimed that Greeks should not be concerned about English. One informant even suggested that Greeks should borrow words from Ancient Greek and not English. Another one employed the lyrics of a Nobel-awarded Greek poet, Odysseas Elytis, who wrote: ‘I was given the Greek language...on the shores of Homer...my sole concern, my language...’ (the author’s translation) (*To Axion Esti-It is worthy* 1959). On

the other side of the spectrum, some respondents claimed that Greeks should follow the development of the world and use English, while others highlighted the importance of the English language. One informant mentioned that English has borrowed a lot of Greek words too, in an effort to justify borrowing. Moreover, according to some participants the questionnaire made them realize English's omnipresence in everyday life and that the Greek word for computer is 'υπολογιστής' and not 'computer'. Finally, some respondents possibly influenced by the topic of the questionnaire, replied in English, namely by using the English word 'tricky' when referring to the questions or by stating 'no comments'.

Chapter 5: Discussion

As mentioned earlier this project had a twofold character. Firstly, it aimed to analyze recorded television data which include instances of code-switching and loanword use under a sociolinguistic perspective and secondly to present the attitudes of the public towards language contact phenomena occurring on television and the mass media in general. This two-basis research had as its main purpose to initially provide ample evidence for the existence of language contact phenomena in the Greek media world and more specifically on Greek television which was achieved through the presentation of TV data and thereafter to analyze the attitudes of the public toward this linguistic behaviour. In this chapter, the sociolinguistic analysis of recorded data presented in Chapter 3 will be discussed and then the main tendencies of the questionnaire results will be examined. This will lead to useful and valuable conclusions about the overarching tendencies and their relation to previous studies and it will lend support to the initial suggestions as well as it will contribute to future research.

5.1 Sociolinguistic Analysis of Recorded Programmes

Thirty-three recorded instances were transcribed for the purposes of this study which were categorized into two main types, namely ‘use of English followed by a translation’ and ‘use of English not followed by a translation’, so as to indicate the reasons behind the choice of the speakers to interpret or not each of the English lexical items they have employed. Moreover, instances were further categorized on the basis of Makri-Tsilipakou’s (1999) categorization who conducted similar research in the past, as many occurrences shared common features. However, due to the fact that previous categorizations could not be attributed to certain utterances, the need to introduce new types of loanword use was imperative, thus new categories were created such as ‘use of English due to loanword popularity’ or others were altered as the ‘use of English as a humorous act’ to ‘use of English as a means of promoting the speaker’s sense of humour’. In the pages that follow all the types will be examined.

5.1.1 Use of English followed by a translation

In 12 out of 33 recorded instances, speakers demonstrated their need to translate the foreign lexical item into Modern Greek, in other words the unmarked code, so as to be understood by the wider audiences of all programmes which according to AGB Nielsen Audience Measurement company consist of all age groups. This behaviour indicates not only the conscious choice of English by the speaker, but also the realization of the inappropriateness of the foreign language and the respectful act of considering the linguistic boundaries of the viewers. Many sub-categories are followed by a translation: use of English for reasons of precision, use of English for reasons of economy, use of English as a medium of promoting the speaker's linguistic abilities, use of English due to loanword popularity.

5.1.1.1 Use of English for reasons of precision

In these cases the speaker employs a foreign lexical unit and more specifically an English loanword in order to be precise due to the fact that the English word is more appropriate in terms of the subject of the interaction and conveys a more concrete meaning. Examples include the use of the words *infotainment* and of the expression *rules over logic*, with the first being a word belonging to the U.S media terminology and the other an expression that does not have an exact equivalent in Modern Greek in the sense of a standard expression and thus contributes to the message the speaker wishes to convey. Nevertheless, in both instances the speakers rendered a translated version of the English expressions, so as to meet the linguistic needs of the non-English speakers.

5.1.1.2 Use of English for reasons of economy

Sometimes foreign lexical elements can express in fewer words what one's native tongue would express in a periphrastic way. Therefore, speakers resort to loanwords in order to be economical and to the point. Such an example is the use of the phrase *best of* by a television presenter who then translated the foreign item into the prolonged *κάποιες πολύ*

ωραίες στιγμές από το πρόγραμμα μας (some very nice moments from our programme). The difference in economy is obvious.

5.1.1.3 Use of English as a medium of promoting the speaker's linguistic abilities

English language is often used as a means for the speakers to demonstrate their linguistic skills and their membership to the educated elite. According to Babiniotis loanword use should never occur to serve purposes of linguistic prestige and self-promotion as such use may have diminishing consequences for the native language (2001:64). It should be stated however that the results of this specific use of English do not differ to that of any other, since at the end English lexical items are introduced to the public and may be adopted. Thus, Babiniotis' idea of the 'diminishing' effect of English use for self-promotion purposes on Greek should ideally apply in all cases, except maybe those occurring for reasons of precision. Despite what the consequences may be, diminishing or not, these phenomena are increasing in number, although in some cases the speaker after fulfilling his/her purpose to appear as a linguistic expert, s/he provides a translated version of the used foreign item to enlighten the 'less' educated Greek audience. It is noteworthy that the effort to demonstrate linguistic expertise is usually accompanied by an unsuccessful imitation of a native American or British English accent. This is strongly related to Hudson's view that individuals borrow foreign loanwords to pretend they are native and to obtain the qualities of native speakers (1996: 56). The phrases *practically naked* and *flight simulator* constitute examples of this behaviour.

5.1.1.4 Use of English due to loanword popularity

There are various English lexical units which have become increasingly popular in the last decade and have been repetitively used by the media to the extent that there are nowadays considered the norm by certain speakers. Examples of such words are the items *coach* and *tips* which are employed with high frequency. However, despite the extended popularity of these items, speakers occasionally provide their Modern Greek equivalents either after the realization that they are not known to everyone or after the suggestion of an interlocutor.

5.1.2 Use of English not followed by a translation

Television personalities are not always thoughtful enough to translate the foreign word or phrase into Greek mostly because they assume similar degrees of knowledge and competence by the audience. This assumption however causes communication gaps between the speakers and their audience and demonstrates lack of respect on behalf of the speaker. In the data collected for the sake of this study, such instances include the use of English as a replacement of a taboo word, the use of English due to the loanword popularity, the use of English as a medium of promoting the speaker's linguistic abilities or sense of humour. Since some of these categories have been discussed in section 5.1.1, at this point only the rest will be examined as apart from the translation provided by the speaker which shows respect toward the audience, there is no particular variation in the motives of the speakers.

5.1.2.1 Use of English as a replacement of a taboo word

This type of loanword/code-switching use is unique since it is the only one that justifies the lack of translation of the foreign item as the Greek equivalent is avoided purposefully. That is to say, speakers borrow an English lexical unit so as to avoid the reference to a possibly offensive or taboo native word. The use of another language carries different connotations which may diminish the negative effects of the conveyed notion and maintain the respect to the audience. Such an example is the use of the English loanwords *gay* and *guts* when what is clearly implied by the speaker in the case of the latter is the word referring to other parts of the male body.

5.1.2.2 Use of English as a medium of promoting the speaker's sense of humour

English can be used in order to promote the speaker's sense of humour as the viewers enjoy the speakers' lack of competence in English and their Greek-English entertaining native accent. Of course this is the exact opposite of promoting the speaker's linguistic abilities as the speaker actually demonstrates his inability to express himself in English. Moreover,

such instances also include a humorous reference to the Greek language or society as if English loanword use in Modern Greek is considered the norm by the Greek society. Nonetheless, although this view is expressed with a purpose to entertain, thus serving an affective function as stated by Holmes (2001: 38), it contains a considerable degree of truth as it is a clear depiction of the reality, at least in the media world.

Finally, it should be stated that the data of both the present study and that of Makri-Tsilipakou (1999), with which it bears a close relationship, reveal similar tendencies and common driving forces for loanword use in the media world. The fact that the two studies were conducted a decade apart signifies that the phenomenon of borrowing persists and it could be even more intense nowadays in the Greek media and more specifically on the Greek television.

Of course loanword use did not emerge with the globalization of English, but existed from the first close contacts between different languages, thus Modern Greek does not face any risks of language loss as according to Anastasiadi-Simeonidi borrowings from French and English do not comprise more than 7% of the general Greek lexicon (1996: 95-102). However, it does face the issue of language change as this percentage will certainly rise. If a language is a living organism that constantly evolves and develops depending on its surroundings and the challenges they pose to it, then change is inevitable for Modern Greek. Suggestions regarding the formation of language committees similar to 'L'Académie Française' that will patrol the media world in order to maintain purely Greek interactions will only create censored products which will not reflect reality. English is everywhere nowadays in Greece (Oikonomidis 2003: 55-57), on television, in the marketplace, in newspapers and magazines, on the World Wide Web, namely in all factors that influence everyday life; hence, it is present in every home and every community. This signifies that English is interwoven with all aspects of life and the banning or reduction of English language use would be a fairly hard if not impossible task. The only measure that can be taken is to make sure that Greek equivalents of highly popular English items are used frequently so that they do not lose their semantic value. The media could contribute to

this effort by showing equal preference to Greek and English items in topics which are more associated with English terminology, such as technology, fashion and entertainment.

5.1.3 The distinction between borrowings and code-switching

At this point an issue of paramount importance that was initially addressed in the literature review in Chapter 2 will be examined as it bears great importance for the categorization of the recorded utterances as code-switches or loanword use occurrences.

Many theorists and researchers have attempted to provide an accurate and clear distinction between the language contact phenomena of code-switching and borrowing especially in the case of single word items. This distinction is usually based on frequency of use, level of integration into the recipient language and on the disruption the foreign items causes to the syntactical structure of the sentence.

In terms of frequency of use, most of the linguists agree that borrowings are lexical units which have been established in the recipient language through their repetitive use (Thomason 2001: 133). On the other hand, words or phrases that singly occur have either being given the general characteristics of code-switching (Myers-Scotton 2006: 254) or they have become known as ‘nonce borrowings’ (Weinreich 1953, Poplack et al. 1988: 50). With regard to level of integration, scholars argue that a truly established borrowing is a word which has acquired the phonological and morphological patterns of the recipient language (Heath 2001: 433), whereas ‘nonce borrowings’ and code-switching are characterized by the features of the donor language (Thomason 2001: 134). Lastly, some theorists claim that borrowings integrate into the syntax and word order of the recipient language, whilst code-switching occurrences retain the structure of the donor language (Heath 2001:433, Myers-Scotton 2006:254).

However, although the factors that define borrowings and code-switching are relatively straightforward, they fail to represent all instances of either borrowings or code-switching. To further analyze that, some borrowings may have acquired only the phonological features

of the recipient language and none of its morphological characteristics or they may have not integrated to any extent into the recipient language. On the other hand, there are also borrowings in the form of a phrase which have retained the original structure of the donor language (Heath 2001:433). Thus, the reasonable question arises: are these foreign items code-switching occurrences or borrowings? The introduction of the term ‘nonce borrowings’ contributes to and facilitates the categorization, as all borrowings which singly occur, have not integrated into the recipient language and possibly maintain the structure of the donor language could be defined as such and hence there is no need for them to be included either to the one category or the other. However, is the distinction between singly occurring and established borrowings clear enough? It could be claimed that established borrowings, in other words recurring lexical items can be distinguished from nonce borrowings as the first have been included in the dictionaries of the recipient language. Nevertheless, loanwords become popular fairly rapidly and one occurrence may trigger many more either consciously or subconsciously. Thus, the theory proposing that singly occurring borrowings are nonce borrowings (Weinreich 1953, Poplack et al. 1988: 50) is insufficient. This becomes clear by drawing an example from the study in question. The present project consists of a number of recorded interactions which have been analyzed within a sociolinguistic perspective. If the project employs the propositions for nonce borrowings, then the vast majority of the used items should be described as such, firstly because all words have undergone solely phonological alterations due to the different phonological systems of Greek and English and secondly because they do not constitute lemmas in the recent Greek dictionaries, thus they are not established. Nevertheless, these lexical units fail to meet all the criteria of nonce borrowings as although rare they have not singly occurred. To the contrary these are words which have been used before and will be used in the future. Even the not so common *infotainment* has been recently added to the terminology of Greek television personalities and through the vast influence of the medium has become or will soon be recognizable to a wide part of the Greek television audience, that is of those who regularly watch television.

Additionally, Myers-Scotton’s categorization of singly occurring borrowings as codeswitched elements or ‘Embedded Language words’ due to their compliance with the

word order of the donor language and to their non morphological integration into the recipient language (2006: 258) does not appear to be valid, as the data she presents to support this idea are fairly controversial. That is to say, although she initially states that singly occurring Embedded Language words in code-switching occurrences and established borrowings resemble each other as they both typically assimilate into the morphology and syntax of the recipient language by the addition of inflections and function words, however later on she argues that a significant number of Embedded Language words in code-switching are not morphologically integrated into the recipient language (2006: 258). Therefore, the distinction becomes unclear as there are no clear boundaries to define what constitutes an established borrowing and what a singly occurring foreign lexical item apart from the frequency factor which is rather subjective and cannot be based on dictionary entries due to the fact that language evolves quicker than lexicography.

It is certain that there is a resemblance between borrowings independently of their frequency and code-switching occurrences, however the distinction between the two phenomena should not be based on the degree of integration of each instance, but on the settings in which they occur and on the purposes that they serve. In other words code-switching primarily occurs between fully developed bilinguals and more specifically between bilinguals living in a bilingual community in the sense of everyday language use, while loanword use takes place in monolingual communities world-widely independently of the bilingual status of the speaker. Hence, the use of a morphologically non-integrated single English lexical item by an individual who can hardly communicate in English and who is a member of a primarily monolingual community as was defined earlier is a loanword or a borrowing irrespectively of its frequency of use. The frequency of use only contributes to its classification as established borrowing or not which as mentioned above is also problematic. Nevertheless, the use of the same lexical unit by a fully bilingual speaker in a fully bilingual setting or by a non fluent but quite competent L2 speaker in a fully bilingual setting constitutes a form of code-switching. This is due to the fact that English language use between primarily monolingual speakers in an environment which is not fully bilingual may serve the purposes of economy, precision, self-promotion, prestige, xenomania and humour, but in the case of an interaction among bilingual interlocutors,

English language use occurs as the linguistic norm of the situation, the appropriate code in terms of subject or as a means to demonstrate solidarity or common ethnic identity (Blom & Gumperz 1972: 424, Holmes 2001: 34-44). Therefore, one of the most important criteria used to categorize a single foreign lexical item should be the setting of the interaction and the reasons for the use of the given item as the factors leading to borrowing and code-switching are discrete. For this reason all single word English lexical items occurring in the recorded data are described as loanwords.

5.2 Discussion of the Analysis of Questionnaire Data

The previous chapter analyzed the data produced by interviewing through the medium of questionnaires 400 people in a small town of Northern Greece, namely Edessa. The data were firstly examined on the basis of four different age groups (16-25, 26-35, 36-55 and 56 and above) and then in terms of the participants' level of English acquisition, gender and educational status. In the questionnaire, informants were asked to reply to fifteen parts and their subquestions. However, not all questions were analyzed due to the fact that some results were considered statistically insignificant by the SPSS data analysis programme and thus they could not make an actual contribution to the project. Additionally, it should be noted that variables were examined in pairs through the chi-square test as loglinear analysis which investigates the relation between more than two variables failed to produce statistically significant results. The focus of attention was placed initially on the age factor as this was proved to correlate higher with the remaining variables through factor analysis. Nevertheless, as was mentioned earlier the present study also examined the variation in the responses of different genders, English acquisition level groups as well as groups of different educational status.

5.2.1 The age factor

At this point it is the age factor that will be examined and its correlation with all the variables that produced statistically significant results. The analysis of the relationships that follow reveals interesting findings regarding the variation in the attitudes of different

age groups. All variables presented in Chapter 4 will be discussed at this point. Examples of such variables include frequency of use of certain English words, informants' choice between a Greek word and its English equivalent, their attitudes toward the use of English on television, the reasons behind this linguistic behaviour and the influence this may have on the lexicon on the public and the future of the Greek language.

5.2.1.1 The use of the word 'super' within different age groups

Respondents were initially asked to select the age group to which they belong as well as their gender, while in the part that followed they were presented with a number of English loanwords for which they were asked to provide the frequency with which they use them. Participants had to choose between the following options: 'always', 'often', 'sometimes', 'rarely' or 'never'. The first word from this list that met the statistical criteria in its correlation with the age factor was the word 'super'. The first two groups, that is the younger groups appeared to use the given item on a more frequent basis than the two other groups. More specifically, it is the third group aging from 36-55 that claimed to use this word less, whilst the fourth group also demonstrated high percentages regarding the last two options, namely 'rarely' and 'never'. However, it should be noted that the last group also showed a great tendency to select the second available option ('often'). Thus, in other words it can be argued that the loanword in question is used by all age groups with the two younger groups demonstrating a greater preference towards it. This was an expected result as participants of older age grew up at a time when English language learning was not so popular and when the Greek language had not included such a great number of English loanwords. Therefore, they were not 'used' to English to the extent that today's adolescents and young people are.

5.2.1.2 The use of the word 'star' within different age groups

According to the results of the correlation between the age variable and that of the use of the word 'star', the youngest age group (16-25) claimed to use more often this specific loanword. As far as the second age group is concerned, it selected in its majority the third

option ‘sometimes’, whilst it also appeared to favour in large percentages the two last options. The vast majority of the third group stated that they use the given loanword ‘rarely’ and finally the older group while favouring as a majority the option ‘never’, it also presented high percentages regarding the first two options. Hence, as was mentioned in the previous chapter no safe conclusions can be drawn from the examination of the results; however, it can be argued that it is the two younger groups that employ the word on a more frequent basis and the third group which demonstrates the lowest rates of frequency.

5.2.1.3 The use of the word ‘trendy’ within different age groups

In the case of this correlation the results clearly depict a significant difference between younger and older participants. That is to say, while an important percentage of the first group have selected the option ‘often’, the results of the same option appear to drop significantly as the examination proceeds to the second, third and finally to the fourth group. On the contrary, the percentages related to the last option ‘never’ although limited in the first group, appear to increase as far as the second group is concerned and they represent the vast majority of the two oldest groups. Therefore, it is obvious that the loanword in question is mostly used by younger informants, whereas older participants do not tend to employ it on a regular basis or not at all. This of course can be attributed to the fact that older age informants are not competent speakers of English and therefore use less English items.

5.2.1.4 The use of the word ‘e-mail’ within different age groups

The results of this particular correlation reveal the same tendency, that is that younger participants tend to employ more frequently the provided English borrowings, as opposed to older informants who rarely use these items. More specifically, the vast majority of the first group and the overwhelming majority of the second group stated that they ‘always’ use the aforementioned loanword, the majority of the group aging from 35 to 55 claimed that they use it often, whereas the largest percentage of the older group argued that they never use the lexical item in question. These results indicate a significant variation in the

responses of the different age groups and show that the word ‘e-mail’ is highly preferred by younger participants in contrast to older informants who do not employ the word often. Nevertheless, as was discussed in the results chapter such variation is due to the fact that the younger generation has become familiar to a great extent with computer terminology, whilst older respondents are speculated to not employ this item as a result of their lack of familiarization with current technology.

In general, the results of this part of the questionnaire revealed reoccurring tendencies. In other words it appears that there is a difference between the responses of younger age groups and those of older age. All groups have claimed to a certain extent that they use the proposed English loanwords; nonetheless, it is the younger groups that demonstrate high levels of frequency in their use. This lends support to the claims that English loanwords have integrated into everyday interactions of the Greek public and that they can be perceived as an existing phenomenon, as well as to the belief that younger generations have a more positive attitude toward the use of loanwords as they seem to employ them on a regular basis. Also it reveals the sociocultural differences between older and younger participants as for the latter loanwords use is a common phenomenon whilst for the first this is not the case. This of course is strongly related to the different levels of English language competence of the four groups as well as to the global character that English has acquired in the last decades through the media and the marketplace, something which did not exist to this extent at the time when older age informants were raised. However, it should be mentioned that although it may be not safe to draw conclusions and proceed to generalizations by the examination of only a limited sample of words, nevertheless such analysis can still provide certain evidence about the prevailing tendencies.

5.2.1.5 Choosing between ‘computer’ and ‘υπολογιστής’ within different age groups

In the next part of the questionnaire participants were provided with five pairs of words, one in their native tongue and the English equivalent loanword; however, only three out of these five pairs were statistically significant at this point. The analysis of the first pair of words, namely ‘computer/ υπολογιστής’ revealed unexpected tendencies. According to

figure 4.5 of the previous chapter the two younger groups in their majority favour the Greek item, whilst the two older groups show a greater preference towards the English borrowing. This of course conflicts with the belief that older informants are less likely to use English words as a result of their lack of English language competence. In addition to that, these results demonstrate a contradiction in the responses of the older informants due to the fact that as following correlations indicate, they do show a more negative stance towards the phenomena of code-switching and loanword use on television and they propose that such linguistic behaviour should stop. Thus, by admitting a preference to a foreign item, they follow the very same linguistic patterns they criticize. Nevertheless, the examination of the next two pairs depicts a variation closer to what was initially anticipated.

5.2.1.6 Choosing between ‘laptop’ and ‘φορητός υπολογιστής’ within different age groups

The results of the relationship between the age factor and the given variable show that all groups in their majorities favour the English term; however, these percentages appear to drop as the examination proceeds from the youngest to the oldest group. Thus, although all groups, even the older one, demonstrate a greater preference towards the English equivalent word, it is the younger participants who use it to a greater extent. This overall tendency can be due to a number of factors. Firstly, it can be attributed to reasons of economy as the word ‘laptop’ is shorter and easier to use than the Greek equivalent ‘φορητός υπολογιστής’. Furthermore, such high preference is also due to the fact that technological advancements usually become known in the language of the country they originated from or in an international language as in this case English. It is also noteworthy that products of technology are usually marketed using the English terminology rather than that of the target audience. In other words, computer stores are more likely to refer to ‘laptops’ rather than ‘φορητούς υπολογιστές’. Also, although this borrowing has a corresponding Greek equivalent it is true as Anastasiadi-Simeonidi mentions that one of the main reasons for borrowing in Greek is the lack of lexicon regarding the fields of technology and science (1996: 95-102).

5.2.1.7 Choosing between ‘internet’ and ‘διαδίκτυο’ within different age groups

In the same part of the questionnaire informants were also asked to choose between the English item ‘internet’ and its Greek equivalent ‘διαδίκτυο’. The results did not depict any significant variation between the responses of different age groups. In more detail, all groups in their overwhelming majority showed their preference towards the English loanword. There is nonetheless an increasing tendency regarding the selection of the Greek term as we move from the youngest to the oldest group, without this tendency being characterized as important. Hence, once again when terms related to technology are discussed, participants tend to choose the English borrowing over the Greek item. Moreover, the high percentages of older respondents who opted for the English item demonstrate a contradictory behaviour regarding their attitudes towards the use of English. This issue will be analyzed later on in this chapter, as older participants although they express highly conservative views towards language contact phenomena occurring on television, they also admit using them.

5.2.1.8 Frequency of television viewing within different age groups

Turning now to a different question in terms of topic, informants were asked to state the frequency with which they are watching television. This question aimed at indicating that a significant number of participants are familiar with the linguistic patterns of Greek television personalities. Fortunately, the results generated from the participants’ responses to this question demonstrated that the vast majority of the first two groups and the overwhelming majority of the last two groups have argued that they watch television on an everyday basis. Additionally, a significant number of informants from all age groups stated that they often watch television. Moreover, a limited number of participants from the first, third and last group claimed that they rarely watch television, whilst an important but not high percentage of the second group opted for the same answer. Interestingly enough, no one from the three older groups stated that they never watch television, whilst only 3 informants of the first group selected this option. Therefore, it is clear from the results of

this correlation that all respondents watch television on a regular or irregular basis and thus have an idea of the linguistic behaviour that television personalities follow.

5.2.1.9 Perceived use of English by television personalities within different age groups

As soon as participants described the frequency with which they are watching television, they were asked to express their thoughts on the amount of English words or phrases that television personalities use in Greece. Informants had to select amongst the following choices: ‘very many English words or phrases’, ‘many English words or phrases’, ‘some English words or phrases’, ‘a few English words or phrases’, ‘no English words or phrases’ or ‘I don’t know’. This question aimed at verifying the existence of language contact phenomena on television through the eyes of participants. According to the results the majority of the first three groups argue that Greek television personalities use many English words or phrases, while the majority of the older group claimed that they use some English words or phrases. This option, that is the third option, was also favoured by a significant number of informants from the first three groups. It should be mentioned that only a minority of all age groups selected the first option (‘very many English words or phrases’) as well as the fourth option (‘a few English words or phrases’). Additionally, it is interesting to note that only two participants from the youngest group and one from the second group stated that Greek television personalities use ‘no English words or phrases’. Subsequently, it can be argued that overall informants’ beliefs verify the main assumption of this project, in other words that English language occurrence is present on the Greek television which is of paramount importance to the present project. Nevertheless, the literature also provides ample evidence for the existence of these language contact phenomenon on television since as Oikonomidis (2003) stresses Greek media employ a large of English borrowings on a frequent basis and this is evident even by the names of the most popular private Greek channels which are also in English (*Alter, Alpha, Antenna, Mega and Star*) (2003: 56). Of course *mega* and *alpha* are Greek items, the first being the Ancient Greek word for ‘big’ and the latter the first letter of the Greek (Cyrillic) alphabet, but still their transliteration into the Roman Alphabet reveals the influence of the English language. Furthermore, according to a Greek newspaper article in the year 2005 there were

36 television programmes with an English title (Benveniste 2005), a fact that also demonstrates the impact of the English language expansion on the inner structure of the Greek media.

5.2.1.10 Opinions about the motivation underlying the use of English within different age groups

After participants were interviewed about the amount of English loanwords used on Greek television, it was only reasonable that they were also asked about the reasons that lead television personalities to this linguistic behaviour. Informants were presented with five options as mentioned in the previous chapter, namely ‘because everybody uses English nowadays, it is a common phenomenon’, ‘because they want to impress with their linguistic abilities’, ‘because there are no Greek equivalent words for certain notions’, ‘I don’t know’ or ‘other’. As the results illustrate the vast majority of the two younger groups favoured the first available option and attributed the use of English on television to the high frequency and popularity of this phenomenon. Moreover, a significant percentage of the same groups claimed that English occurrence on television is driven by the need of TV personalities to impress viewers as well as their interlocutors. With regard to the two older groups, their members appear to be almost equally divided between the first two options, with the weak majority of the third group preferring the first option and the weak majority of the last group opting for the second available choice. It is also important to add that only a limited number of informants from all age groups claimed that people appearing on television use English words because there are no Greek equivalent lexical items to describe certain notions. This underscores the assumption that apart from cultural borrowings, a great number of core borrowings are employed by speakers on television and subsequently/or also by a part of the Greek society. Furthermore, these results reveal a variation in the responses of the two younger and the two older groups, as older groups appear to believe to a greater extent that the use of the English language on television is motivated by reasons of vanity, since they support the view that speakers on television employ English as a means to impress others with their linguistic abilities and in order to appear linguistically educated. This signifies that older participants hold a more negative attitude towards the

reasons that lead to language contact phenomena on television than younger informants and lends support to the initial hypothesis of this study. However, Greek linguists also hold an unfavourable view towards use of English occurring for reasons of self-promotion, or as an index of linguistic prestige. More specifically, as discussed earlier, Babionitis argues that English loanword use is neither diminishing nor fatal unless it serves purposes which are not directly related to actual communicative needs, but solely to the need of the speaker to appear linguistically educated (2001: 64).

5.2.1.11 Opinions on the personalities of people who use English words on television within different age groups ('stupid', 'show-offs' and 'indifferent')

Informants were also provided with seven adjectives, namely 'trendy', 'stupid', 'arrogant', 'intelligent', 'educated', 'show-offs' and 'indifferent' from which they were asked to select those which better describe the personality of people who employ the English language on Greek television. According to the results presented in Chapter 4, the word 'stupid' was mostly chosen by the younger age group, whilst the attribute 'show-offs' was selected by the vast majority of the first group and an important percentage of the second, third and fourth group. Additionally, Greek television personalities were characterized as 'indifferent' mostly by the second group, followed by the third, first and finally fourth group. These results reveal that all participants in their majority claimed that people who use English words or phrases on television, do so to demonstrate their linguistic expertise or to impress others with their competence in the English language. Finally, the significant percentages of participants who selected the term 'indifferent' demonstrate that to some informants this particular linguistic behaviour does not provoke any interest.

5.2.1.12 Opinions on the statement 'television personalities act as role-models and should not use English words' within different age groups

Turning now to the next part of the questionnaire, respondents were provided with a number of statements for which they were asked to choose one of the following options: 'I strongly agree', 'I agree', 'I am uncertain', 'I disagree' and finally 'I strongly disagree'.

These statements included sentences demonstrating a positive attitude towards the use of English on television and the mass media in general, as well as sentences declaring a negative attitude towards this linguistic behaviour. The first of these statements whose correlation with the age factor appeared to be statistically significant was ‘television personalities act as role-models and should not use English words’. As the results reveal, the majority of all age groups claimed that they agree with the aforementioned statement with older groups presenting higher percentages. The next favoured option in the case of the two younger groups was ‘I disagree’, whilst the two older groups argued as their second option that they ‘strongly agree’ with the given statement. It is important to note that this particular option ‘I strongly agree’ was chosen by a small number of first group participants, whereas its percentages seem to increase as the examination proceeds to the second group and increase dramatically as we move to the last two groups. Finally, it should be stated that a respected number of participants of the first two groups claimed to be uncertain about the statement. From all the above it can be safely argued that older informants hold a more negative view towards the use of English on television and consider that its influential character may have an impact on the linguistic patterns of the audience. On the other hand, although the majority of younger participants also appear negative towards the use of English on television as speculated from their responses towards this particular statement, however they seem to generally have a less negative attitude or they appear uncertain with regard to this phenomenon. Thus, once again the initial hypothesis of this study which claims that older informants hold a stricter and more austere view towards the occurrence of English is supported by the participants’ responses. Finally, it should be pointed out that this strict and austere attitude derives from the lack of English proficiency of older informants and from the conservatism that characterizes people of older age.

5.2.1.13 Opinions on the statement ‘I don’t like it when people use English on TV’ within different age groups

The second statistically significant statement produced almost similar results. The vast majority of the second, third and fourth group claimed that they agree with the

aforementioned phrase, while the majority of the first group stated that they are uncertain and favoured as their second choice the 'I agree' option. Additionally, it is noteworthy that whilst the first option 'I strongly agree' was selected by a small number of participants of the first two groups, the percentages of the same option double in the case of the two older groups. Similarly, a significant percentage of the two younger groups favoured the fourth option, namely 'I disagree'; however, these percentages appear to drop significantly regarding the two older groups. Hence, it can be argued once again, that older participants hold a more negative stance towards the use of English on television, while younger informants appear to not have yet formed an attitude towards the phenomenon in question. This could be attributed to their young age and possible immaturity of forming of definite attitude or to their own habits of code mixing, which are more intense as was indicated by their responses to the first parts of the questionnaire where they were asked to comment on their use of specific English loanwords and their preference towards the English or an equivalent Greek term.

5.2.1.14 Opinions on the statement 'people can use English words but not on TV' within different age groups

The difference between the attitudes of older and younger age groups is clearly depicted in the analysis of the correlation between the age factor and the variable 'people can use English words but not on TV'. More specifically, the majorities of the two younger groups claimed that they disagree with the provided statement, while the older groups appear to agree in their majority with the given sentence. Moreover, this is also illustrated by the fact that while only a limited number of informants from the first two groups selected the option 'I strongly agree', the percentages in question triple in the case of the third group and quadruple with regard to the responses of the oldest group. Additionally, it should be stated that a respected number of first and second group participants claim to be uncertain regarding the proposed statement. These results of course fortify the existing hypothesis

and support the argument that older participants hold more austere views towards the use of English lexical items on television.

5.2.1.15 Opinions on the statement ‘it’s normal for someone to use English words on television’ within different age groups

The results of the correlation demonstrate a clear tendency of older informants to disagree with the occurrence of the English language on television. In greater detail, the majority of the second group and the vast majority of the third and fourth group, all disagree with the provided view which states that ‘it’s normal for someone to use English words on television’. As far as the youngest group is concerned, the majority of its participants claimed that they agree with the statement whilst a significant percentage appears to be uncertain. Additionally, it should be pointed out that the last option ‘I strongly disagree’ was favoured by only a limited number of informants in the case of the first two groups, but was widely selected by the two oldest groups. Finally, it is important to stress that the amount of uncertainty appears to gradually decrease as the analysis proceeds from the youngest to the oldest group. Thus, these results also strengthen the initial hypothesis and verify a tendency of older participants to dislike language contact phenomena, especially when they occur on television. Furthermore, again there is a clear tendency of younger participants to express more positive views towards the use of English on television, while they also present high levels of uncertainty which as was mentioned earlier can be attributed to their young age or to their own linguistic habits of loanword use.

5.2.1.16 Opinions on whether that the use of the English language on Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public within different age groups

The next part of the questionnaire aimed at eliciting participants’ responses on the possible influence of the use of English on television on the linguistic repertoire of the public. Participants were asked to select between the following three options: ‘yes to a significant degree’, ‘yes, but to a small degree’ and ‘no’. According to the results of this correlation all participants independently of their age supported the view that English use on television

can affect the lexicon of the public to a significant extent. The next favoured option of all age groups was the second available choice: ‘yes, but to a small degree’. Finally, only a limited number of informants from the first three groups stated that the lexicon of the Greek public can remain unaffected by the linguistic behaviour of television personalities, whilst this percentage doubles in the case of the oldest group. From all the above, it is evident that all participants believe that code-switching occurrences and the use of English loanwords on television can be reflected to the linguistic choices of the Greek audience as they are widely affected by the language of the media. This belief acts as a keystone to the present project, as it indicates that according to participants’ perceptions English language occurrence on television cannot be viewed as a separate phenomenon which has no implications for the linguistic choices of the majority, but as an existing reality which has a large or smaller impact on the linguistic habits of the Greek population which is one of the main point that this study wishes to stress. Furthermore, the responses of younger informants reveal another interesting fact, that although they hold a more positive attitude towards language contact phenomena on television, however they believe that such phenomena have a strong influence on the linguistic choices of the Greek public. Finally, the high percentages of the older group -in comparison with those of all the other groups- regarding the last option (‘no’) demonstrate that although the majority of older participants have a negative attitude towards the use of English on television, however they appear more certain about their native tongue’s resistance to change when it comes in contact with foreign elements, an attitude which can be attributed to their conservative views and to their feeling of ethnic pride. If the statistical analysis of the variable ‘do you believe that the use of English words and phrases in Greek TV can influence the lexicon of: everyone independently of their age, adolescents, children, no one’ in relation to the age factor had not failed to produce statistically significant data, it would certainly have made an essential contribution to the examination of this subject since it would have demonstrated which age group is more prone to linguistic influence.

5.2.1.17 Opinions on how people appearing on Greek TV should act regarding the use of English words within different age groups

Informants were also asked whether they believe that people appearing on Greek television should: 'use English words or phrases if they want to', 'try to reduce the use of English words or phrases' or 'stop using English words or phrases'. The results reveal important information about the attitudes of the participants and once again indicate a variation in the tendencies of younger and older age groups. More specifically, the vast majorities of the first, second and third group favoured the second available option and stated that people appearing on Greek television should try to reduce the amount of English loanwords they use. Nevertheless, the older group in its majority, albeit not particularly strong, selected the ultimate option and argued that Greek television personalities should stop employing English words or phrases. It is of great importance to examine the difference in the percentages of all age groups regarding this last option. In the case of the youngest group only a limited number of informants opted for this selection, while this percentage gradually increases when observing the results of the second group and increases dramatically when looking at the responses of the two older groups. As these results indicate all participants irrespectively of their age support the view that English language occurrences on television should be reduced demonstrating in this way their disagreement or dislike towards this phenomenon. It should be pointed out that even younger groups that appeared less negative or more positive towards this linguistic behaviour still wish for it to be reduced, although not to be stopped. On the other hand, the two older groups and especially the oldest group show a particularly negative stance towards this linguistic tendency and believe that it should be stopped. This is strongly associated with the previously examined variable which demonstrated informants' beliefs about the possible influence of the use of English on television upon the linguistic repertoire of the public. Hence, once again the results lend support to the hypothesis that older participants hold a more austere view towards the use of foreign lexical items on television and more specifically English.

5.2.1.18 Opinions on the statement ‘the use of English by TV can alter the Greek language to a great extent but can never threaten it’ within different age groups

Participants were also provided with another list of statements which aimed at eliciting their responses regarding the potential threat that the use of English on television and the mass media could pose on the Greek language. As was mentioned in the results chapter, participants were asked whether they ‘strongly agree’, ‘agree’, are ‘uncertain’, ‘disagree’ or ‘strongly disagree’ with these claims. However, in order to examine the consistency in the participants’ responses, apart from the statement provided above which met the statistical criteria, another statement was also analyzed although it failed to produce statistically significant results. The statement in question was the following: ‘The use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language’. Regarding this particular statement the majority of the first group demonstrated its agreement, whether strong or not, whilst the majorities of the other three group disagreed with or without reservations with it.

Turning now to the statistically significant correlation (between ‘the use of English by TV can alter the Greek language to a great extent but can never threaten it’ and the age variable), its results indicated an inconsistency in the case of first group respondents. To express it differently, whilst in the first correlation (‘the use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language’) the majority of informants expressed their agreement regarding this claim, in the second correlation they appeared to disagree. This inconsistency is misleading in terms of accuracy of the data, although it can be attributed to the large number of uncertain participants in both correlations. Young respondents have generally appeared to be quite uncertain throughout the questionnaire and also regarding this question, a feature which could be attributed to their young age and possible immaturity and to the fact that some of them may have not yet considered the issue of English language influence. On the other hand, all the other groups produced highly consistent responses and expressed their disagreement with the first statement and their agreement with the second. In other words, the participants of the last three groups in their vast majority claimed that although English language use on television can alter the Greek language significantly, however it cannot actually threaten it. Thus, they appear fairly

certain about the future of their mother tongue and hold the view that although it can be influenced to a great extent by foreign elements, it does not face any major risk. Finally it should be stated that the ambiguous character of the statement and the fact that it consists of two clauses instead of one is the primary cause of the observed inconsistency. Although the word ‘but’ indicates to the respondents that they should agree or disagree with the statement as a whole, however, it is assumed that a certain number of participants may not have acted in this way, hence demonstrating that such syntactical constructions should be avoided and that it has mistakenly being used.

5.2.1.19 Opinions on the statement ‘people should stop using foreign words before it’s too late’ within different age groups

The results of this correlation demonstrated again variation in the prevailing responses of younger and older group participants. In greater detail, the majorities of the first, second and third group disagree in total with the provided statement, whereas the majority of the oldest group agree with it with or without any reservations. Moreover, the examination of the exact percentages in the results chapter indicated that there is a gradual increasing tendency as we move from the youngest to the oldest group towards agreement; in other words informants’ percentages regarding the added sum of the ‘I strongly agree’ and the ‘I agree’ options increase gradually as the examination proceeds from the younger to older age groups. This signifies the essential role of the age factor in the correlation and demonstrates that people of older age have an extremely negative stance towards the use of foreign items and wish for it to stop before it is too late which could be attributed to their inner conservatism and to their wish to maintain their mother tongue pure. Although, ‘before it is too late’ is not elaborated, it suggests negative implications for the language which cannot be overcome. Thus, younger group participants do not believe that the use of English in general could have a negative and more specifically irreversible impact on Modern Greek, whereas older participants in their majority, albeit not a strong one, support this view. Finally, it is important to stress that a significant percentage from all age groups claimed to be uncertain towards the provided claim, with the youngest group presenting the highest percentages. This signifies that participants to some extent do not have a clear view

on whether English loanwords should be employed or whether such linguistic behaviour causes any detrimental consequences for the Greek language.

5.2.1.20 Level of English language proficiency within different age groups

The variations commented so far between younger and older age groups cannot be attributed simply to age differences, but to the implications that the different age groups carry. To further analyze the above, the initial purpose of dividing participants into age groups was to elicit responses which correspond to the different life experiences of each participant and to the common experiences that participants of similar age share. These distinct experiences are the primary generator of different attitudes and since the present study strongly focuses on the use of English and its effect on the linguistic patterns of the Greek society, the most significant factors to look at combined with that of age are participants' educational statuses and level of English language acquisition.

With regard to different levels of English language acquisition, informants were asked to comment on their knowledge of English by completing the sentence 'I speak English' with one of the following six options: 'proficiently', 'very good', 'good', 'not good but I can participate in an everyday interaction', 'I cannot speak but I understand' and 'I cannot speak or understand'. The results of this correlation (that of age variable with the English language acquisition variable) were highly expected as they demonstrated lower levels of English language acquisition concerning older groups and higher levels of fluency in the case of younger groups. In more detail, the two younger age groups in their majority claimed that their level of English language acquisition is good, but also both groups demonstrated high percentages regarding the second available choice, namely 'very good'. Moreover, it should be pointed out that the second group presented the highest percentage of proficient speakers. With respect to the results of the third group, the majority of its participants opted for the third possible selection, but also favoured the last three options by high and almost equal percentages. Finally, concerning the older group, the vast majority of its informants stated that they cannot speak or understand English, whilst only a limited number of respondents selected the first three options. Hence, it can be argued that

according to the data second group participants are more fluent in English, followed by first, third and lastly fourth group informants. These results, as mentioned earlier were highly expected as the second group comprises by people who have completed their studies, whereas first group participants are still in the process of acquiring knowledge through secondary or higher education. The low levels of English language acquisition in the cases of the two older groups could be attributed to the lack of financial abilities as well as to the poor educational possibilities that prevailed at the time of their youth. It should be stated that although the instruction of foreign languages has gained a significant role in the Greek educational system with English being a compulsory module in all levels of educations, nevertheless the majority of students also attend private classes in an effort to acquire the basic certifications that contribute to the possibility of a promising career and provide them with the opportunity to study and work abroad. Obviously, such possibilities were limited during the hardships of the post-war era, the time when most of third and fourth group participants were born and raised.

Nevertheless, the most significant implication produced by the correlation of the age and English language acquisition variable is that older group participants may express to some extent their strong disagreement towards the use of English on television and in general because they have not acquired English to a significant extent in order to comprehend interactions that include phenomena of code-switching and loanword use. However, the variation in their responses to those of other groups cannot be seen completely as a result of their limited or inexistent acquisition of the English language, but in combination with the other connotations associated with older age, such as conservatism, purism, austerity. These qualities are not characteristics solely of people of older age, however they tend prevail even more at these age groups, as opposed to younger generations. In fact even within this small-scale study, the need to preserve the purity of the Greek language as much as possible without any influence from foreign sources has been strongly expressed by the majority of older participants. In the pages that follow the factor of different educational statuses will also be discussed, as another significant factor that shapes the views of participants and generates concrete variations between the attitudes of younger and older informants.

5.2.1.21 Educational level within different age groups

The analysis of the above correlation has produced interesting results regarding the educational statuses of the participants in terms of age differentiation. Informants were requested to complete the sentence: 'I am' with the options 'a primary school graduate', 'a junior high school graduate', 'a high school graduate/student', 'a university (public or private)/technical institution graduate/student' and 'a master's degree graduate/student'. Overall, the sample appeared to consist of educated informants. More specifically, the vast majority of the first and third group and the overwhelming majority of the second group stated that they were graduates or students of higher education of public or private universities or technical institutions. Older group informants claimed in their majority to be high school graduates, but also presented high percentages as far as higher education is concerned. With the exception of the older group, all other groups had a limited number of participants who selected the high school option. Moreover, it should be mentioned that the second group presented the greatest number of informants who were graduates or students at a postgraduate level followed by the third group. Thus, according to the data analysis, it is the second group which is most highly educated and which as seen in the examination of the previous correlation is comprised by participants who had acquire the English language to a greater extent as opposed to all the other groups. Finally, it should be stated that the older group appears to be less educated which is due as mentioned earlier to the adversities that prevailed in the time when older participants were children and adolescents. However, the high percentages of informants opting for the penultimate choice reveal that even the less educated group consists of a great number of people who have acquired a higher education degree. Nonetheless, the fact that these lower levels of education are associated with the participants' responses in a certain way and that their combination with the age factor generates negative attitudes towards the use of English on television and in general cannot be ignored.

5.2.2 English proficiency level groups

As was discussed above the age factor was found to be the variable that correlated highly with the majority of the variables in use according to the results of the factor analysis test. However, the chi-square test estimated that some other variables produced also statistically significant results in correlation with the ‘English proficiency level’ factor; therefore they were analyzed in the previous chapter and at this point they will be discussed. It was mentioned earlier that participants were asked to describe their status of English language proficiency by filling in the phrase: ‘I speak’ with one of the following options: ‘proficiently’, ‘very good’, ‘good’, ‘not good but I can participate in an everyday interaction’, ‘I cannot speak but I can understand’, ‘I cannot speak or understand’. Nevertheless, due to economy reasons the letters of the English alphabet have been employed in order to represent the six different groups.

5.2.2.1 The use of the word ‘star’ within groups at different levels of English proficiency

With regard to the first part of the questionnaires, participants were asked to comment on their use of a number of English loanwords by choosing one of the following options: ‘always’, ‘often’, ‘sometimes’, ‘rarely’ or ‘never’. According to the results of the correlation of the aforementioned factor with the word ‘star’ the majority of groups A, B, C and D argued that they rarely use the particular English loanword, while group E participants claimed that they employ it sometimes. Interestingly, only the last group stated in its majority that they never use the given word. Moreover, it should be mentioned that group A which consist of the most fluent English speaker selected as their second favourite choice the option ‘often’, while groups B an C the option ‘sometimes’. Group D opted for both choices with an equal number of participants whereas group E selected as second best the option ‘often’. Finally, group F presented its second highest percentages regarding the option ‘rarely’.

From all the above, it can be safely argued that overall all groups do not seem to employ the loanword in question on a regular basis and that participants who have acquired English

to a lesser extent are less likely to use the word 'star' in their interactions. This is highly associated with their inability to express themselves in English or to comprehend it, as they are unfamiliar with the language and consequently with its loanwords. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that as analyzed earlier the majority of group F is comprised of older group informants indicated that the age factor should also be taken into consideration; in other words, people of older age who have not acquire English to a good extent or not at all are less likely to employ the borrowing 'star' and this is due to the fact that they do not have the linguistic competence to do so and to the fact that they grew up at a time when English had not penetrated so much into the Greek language.

5.2.2.2 The use of the word 'trendy' within groups at different levels of English proficiency

The analysis of the correlation revealed a stronger variation in the responses of informants who have acquired English to a good extent and those who have not. The majority of group A appeared equally divided between the second, third and forth option, namely 'often', 'sometimes' and 'rarely', whilst groups B and C in their majority favoured the option 'sometimes'. On the other hand the majority of groups D and E and the overwhelming majority of group F stated that they never employ the word 'trendy'. Hence, the results indicate a significant difference in the responses of the first three groups and those of the last three groups, a fact that signifies that people who are more fluent in English are more likely to use the provided borrowing, whereas people who are less capable of communicating in the foreign language are less likely to employ it. This finding was highly expected, since as discussed earlier people who are not familiar with the English language are anticipated not to use its lexicon. The relation of age to the English competence level that was mentioned before plays again a fundamental role in this correlation as people of older age constitute the majority of those who cannot speak English and thus of those who use the provided word less.

5.2.2.3 The use of the word ‘e-mail’ within groups at different levels of English proficiency

The results of this relationship lend additional support to the conclusion discussed above, as they present a similar and even stronger variation in the responses of participants with higher levels of English language acquisition and those with lower levels of English language acquisition. More specifically, the strong majority of group A and the majority of group B and C claimed that they use the word ‘e-mail’ (or the abbreviated ‘email’) always. The majority of group D stated that they ‘often’ use the given item, whereas group E appeared equally divided between options ‘sometimes’ and ‘never’. Lastly, the vast majority of group F claimed that they never use the loanword in question. Therefore, it can be stated that frequency of use drops gradually as the examination proceeds from the most fluent to the less fluent group, verifying that less capable speakers of English are less likely to employ foreign borrowings. It should be mentioned once again that another factor that should be taken into account is that the majority of group F consists of informants belonging to the older age group, thus they may not use the provided computer-related item, as they are less familiar with technological advancements than participants of younger groups.

5.2.2.4 Choosing between ‘laptop’ and ‘φορητός υπολογιστής’ within groups at different levels of English proficiency

Turning now to the next part of the questionnaire, participants were provided with pairs of words and were asked to choose between a Modern Greek word and its English equivalent. The analysis of the results for the pair ‘laptop/φορητός υπολογιστής’ and its relationship with the English acquisition level variable revealed a variation in the responses of fluent English speakers and those who have acquired English to a lesser extent or not at all. More specifically, the majority of all participants independently of their degree of English language competence favoured the English borrowing. However, the results concerning the English option appear to decrease as the examination proceeds from the more fluent to the less fluent groups. In greater detail, only a limited number of participants from groups A, B, C and D opted for the Greek equivalent word, whereas these percentages increase

significantly in the case of the two last groups, namely E and F. Thus, it is evident that although participants in their majority demonstrate a greater preference towards the English item, nevertheless, informants who are not able to communicate in English show an increased tendency towards the use of the Greek item. This signifies a strong relation between the different levels of English language proficiency and the use of the particular pair.

5.2.2.5 Choosing between ‘show’ and ‘θέαμα’ within groups at different levels of English proficiency

The next correlation that produced significant results was regarding the pair ‘show/ θέαμα’. The results demonstrated again a variation between the choices of participants who have acquired English to a significant extent and those who have not. In particular, the majority of groups A and B favoured the English loanword while groups C and E equally selected the two alternative options. On the other hand informants belonging to D and F, in other words participants who claimed that they have not acquired English to a good extent, even though they can still take part in an everyday interaction and those who do not have any English speaking or comprehending abilities preferred the Greek equivalent word. This indicates that the use of the particular English loanword decreases as the respondents’ level of English competence drops. As shown above this is a repeated tendency which lends support to the theory that English language use varies not only in terms of different age groups, but also with regard to different levels of English language competence.

5.2.2.6 Opinions on the personalities of people who use English words on television within groups at different levels of English proficiency (‘indifferent’)

According to the results of this particular correlation, it is mostly proficient speakers of English (groups A, B, C, D) who have selected this option to a greater extent than non-competent speakers of English (groups E and F). This variation leads to the interpretation that participants who have no problem in communicating in English appear to be less interested in the activity of English language use on television and in the personalities of

the people who perform it. On the other hand, those who cannot communicate properly or at all in English have favoured other options and thus it can be claimed that they believe that the use of English on television attaches certain attributes to the personalities of those who practice it.

5.2.2.7 Opinions on the statement ‘people can use English words but not on television’ within groups at different levels of English proficiency

After examining the participants’ personal preferences, at this point the focus of attention is placed on their attitudes towards the use of English language on television and in general. Respondents were asked to state whether they ‘strongly agree’, ‘agree’, ‘uncertain’, ‘disagree’ or ‘strongly disagree’ with the view that ‘people can use English words but not on television’. According to the results the majority within the first three groups, namely groups A, B and C disagree with the aforementioned statement, whereas most of the participants of the last three groups agree with it. More specifically, the examination of the percentages of those who disagree depicts an important variation between fluent and non fluent participants, as the percentages appear to drop in the case of the latter. Similarly, the percentages of those who strongly agree with the proposed claim appear to increase significantly regarding the last two groups. Hence, it is speculated by all the above that informants who have not acquired English to a significant or satisfactory extent express more negative attitudes towards the phenomena of code-switching and loanword use on television. In other words, people who are not competent in English express a more austere view regarding its presence on Greek television, a view which could be attributed to the very fact that their comprehension levels are extremely low. Once again, it should be stressed that the majority of the last two groups consists of older age participants, thus the analysis should not only focus on the ‘English proficiency level’ factor, but on the age factor as well and on the connotations that it carries. It should be noted that loglinear analysis failed to produce any statistically significant results, hence the interrelation of the three variables cannot be examined.

5.2.2.8 Opinions on whether the use of the English language on the Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public within groups at different levels of English proficiency

Turning now to participants' beliefs regarding the possible influence of English use on television upon the linguistic repertoire of the public, it is clear that as in the case of the correlation of the variable with the age factor, all participants independently of their English language competence level agree that the use of English on television can influence the lexicon of the Greek public to a significant extent. However, there is still a differentiation in the responses of fluent and non-fluent speakers as the percentages of the second option 'yes to a small extent' increase as far as not so fluent participants are concerned. Interestingly, the percentages of those who favoured the 'no' option, also rise in the case of those informants who have admitted low levels of English language competence. This indicates a very unusual finding, namely that people who are linguistically educated in terms of English express a greater concern about the impact of English on the lexicon of the public, than those who have acquired English to a minimum or not at all. In other words, participants belonging to the last two groups are more certain about the future 'purity' of their native tongue than those who claimed to be speakers of English. This significant result could be attributed to the informants' personal linguistic choices, since as demonstrated earlier fluent speakers of English tend to employ English loanwords more frequently than non-fluent speaker. That is to say, participants belonging to the first groups strongly support the view that English language occurrence on television can affect the linguistic choices of the public to a significant extent because they have also adopted these linguistic habits or at least they have practiced them to a greater extent than their co-participants of the last groups. In a similar vein, informants who have acquired English to a lesser degree who are mostly people of older age are less worried about the possible influence of English loanwords on the lexicon of the public, presumably because they adopt less English words themselves due to their lack of fluency and thus they expect other individuals to do the same.

5.2.2.9 Opinions on how people appearing on Greek television should act regarding the use of English within groups at different levels of English proficiency

Participants were also asked whether they believe that people appearing on Greek television should ‘use English words or phrases if they want to’, ‘try to reduce the use of English words or phrases’ or ‘stop using English words’. The majority of groups A, B, C, D and E claimed that Greek television personalities should reduce the amount of English words they use, whilst only the majority of the last group stated that they should stop using words of English origin. With regard to the first option ‘use English words or phrases if they want to’, the percentages of each group for this particular selection gradually drop as the examination proceeds from fluent to non-fluent informants. Therefore, it can be argued that all respondents demonstrate their disapproval of the amount of English language use occurring on television, whereas those who have not acquired English to any extent propose that this phenomenon should be brought to an end. In other words, people who have no speaking or comprehending abilities in English express a more negative stance towards English language occurrence on television, a stance which is strongly related to their inability to communicate in English and to the communication gap it generates. Finally, it should be added that these results are closely associated again with the fact that older group participants comprise the majority of group F.

5.2.2.10 Opinions on the statement ‘the use of English by TV and the mass media is a threat to the Greek language’ within groups at different levels of English proficiency

This correlation yielded perplexing results which cannot be associated with the age factor. The majority of participants belonging to groups A, B, E and F disagree with or without reservations with the proposed claim, while the majorities of groups C and D agree with it. Moreover, there is a high number of participants belonging to groups A, B, C and E who claimed to be uncertain. In an effort to interpret these results, it can be argued that the most fluent speakers of English and those who do not have any speaking or comprehension abilities, or solely comprehension abilities support the claim that English language presence on television and the mass media in general cannot be perceived as a threat to the Greek

language. On the other hand, informants who claimed that they have acquired English to a good extent or at least to an extent that allows them to take part in an everyday interaction appear to consider English language use by the media a threat to Modern Greek. This variation has never occurred so far in the examined data and cannot lead to safe and accurate conclusions, since it is not based on differences between two or more distinct categories, but between categories that only slightly differ. To express it differently, the variation does not occur between groups that have strong differences with regard to English language competence, but in the mid groups which share common characteristics with the groups that immediately precede and follow them.

5.2.3 Gender groups

Data were also examined on the basis of gender differences between participants in order to investigate any variations that only relate to sex. As mentioned in the previous chapter each group consisted of an equal number of male and female participants, in other words 50 women and 50 men for each age group or 200 participants representing each sex in total.

5.2.3.1 The use of the word ‘shopping’ within different gender groups

Informants were provided with a list of English lexical items for which they had to comment on their personal frequency of use by choosing one of the following options: ‘always’, ‘often’, ‘sometimes’, ‘rarely’ or ‘never’. The vast majority of male participants favoured the option ‘never’ whilst the majority of female informants selected the option ‘sometimes’. The male group selected as second favourite option the alternative ‘rarely’, whilst women opted for ‘never’. Furthermore, women demonstrated higher percentages with regard to the second option ‘often’ whereas only a limited number of respondents from both groups claimed that they always use the provided loanword. In conclusion, female informants appear to resort to the given loanword with the greater frequency, a tendency that occurs in the next correlation as well.

5.2.3.2 The use of the word ‘trendy’ within different gender groups

The above correlation concerning the frequency of use of the word ‘trendy’ with the gender variable yielded results similar to the previous one. More specifically, again the majority of male respondents opted for the selection ‘never’, whilst female participants appeared almost equally divided between the option ‘often’ and ‘sometimes’. It is important to note that only a limited number of male informants favoured the options ‘always’ and ‘often’. Thus, women seem to employ the particular loanword with a greater frequency than male informants. However, unfortunately due to the small number of statistically significant correlations concerning this part of the questionnaire, general conclusions regarding the use of foreign lexical items in terms of gender differentiation cannot be drawn.

5.2.3.3 Opinions about the motivation underlying the use of English within different gender groups

Additionally, participants were asked to provide their views on the reasons that lead Greek television personalities to use English lexical items by selecting one of the following options: ‘because everybody uses English nowadays, it is a common phenomenon’, ‘because they want to impress with their linguistic abilities’, ‘because there are no equivalent Greek words for certain notions’, ‘I don’t know’ or ‘other’. According to the results the majority of male informants and the vast majority of female respondents argued that Greek television personalities employ English loanwords because it has become a common trend practised by everyone. Moreover, a significant percentage of men stated that people on television employ English borrowings as a means of demonstrating and promoting their linguistic abilities, whilst women favoured this particular option to a smaller extent. Finally, it should be stated that only a limited number of participants from both gender groups selected the third option which claims that English language use on television is attributed to the lack of Greek equivalent words for specific notions. This limited number of responses indicates that participants are aware of core borrowings occurrences apart from cultural borrowings. From all the above it can be speculated that male informants appear to express a more negative stance towards the reason that lead

television personalities to the use of the English language, whilst women perceive the use of English as a linguistic trend of the era.

5.2.3.4 Opinions on the personalities of people who use English words on television within different gender groups ('educated' and 'indifferent')

In terms of the personalities of people who use English words or phrases on Greek television, the responses of male and female participants presented only a small variation; therefore no safe conclusions can be drawn. However, it should be argued that female participants appear to consider Greek television personalities to be 'educated' and 'indifferent' to a greater extent than male informants. Nevertheless, due to the fact that all the other attributes did not generate statistically significant results, it can only be stated that male respondents appear to have opted more for the other terms than female participants.

5.2.4 Educational level groups

Lastly, participants were examined on the basis of their educational status. Such analysis aimed at revealing any variations between the attitudes of participants belonging to different educational groups. For this purpose participants were divided into five groups and letters of English alphabet were again employed for reasons of economy. In more detail, group A represents primary school graduates, group B junior high school graduates, group C high school graduates/students, group D university graduates or students (public and private as well as technical school students or graduates) and finally group E is represented by master's degree graduates or students. In other words the groups order starts from the less educated participants and finishes off with the most educated informants.

5.2.4.1 Choosing between ‘laptop’ and ‘φορητός υπολογιστής’ within groups at different educational levels

Informants were asked to choose one word from a pair consisting of an English lexical item and its Greek equivalent. In this particular correlation the English word was ‘laptop’ and the Greek translation ‘φορητός υπολογιστής’. The results of this correlation reveal that all participants in their majority irrespectively of the educational level opted for the English item rather than the Greek word. Moreover, the data indicate a gradual increasing tendency of informants to favour more the English loanword as the examination proceeds from the less educated to the most educated groups. To place in differently, groups A, B and C appear to opt to a lesser extent for the English alternative, whilst they demonstrated high percentages in contrast to the other groups as far as the Greek word is concerned. This signifies that although in their majority all participants have shown their preference toward the English loanword, however, less educated informants appear to employ the English word less often or in other words to opt more for the Greek equivalent in relation to more educated participants. Therefore, there appears to be a strong correlation between different educational levels and the selection of this particular pair of words.

5.2.4.2 Choosing between ‘show’ and ‘θέαμα’ within groups at different educational levels

The results of this correlation indicate a variation similar to the previous one and even stronger between more educated and less educated informants. To further analyze the above, the overwhelming majority of group A and the majorities of groups B and C demonstrated their preference towards the Greek word ‘θέαμα’, whilst groups D and E mostly favoured the English loanword ‘show’. This differentiation indicates that people of lower educational status (group A participants are primary school graduates, group B participants are junior high school graduates and group C participants are high school graduates or students) are more likely to use the Greek lexical unit than its English equivalent. The gradual increasing tendency to use the English word signifies that the more educated the sample the more likely they are to prefer the English item. Nevertheless, an important fact that should be taken into consideration is that the majority of first group

participants consist of older informants who have claimed to have acquired English to a minimum or not at all, hence they tend to borrow English to a lesser extent. However, as mentioned earlier, loglinear analysis which examines the relationships between more than two variables did not produce any statistically significant results and consequently safe conclusions cannot be drawn. Additionally, it should be stated that due to the fact that there is not an equal number of participants for all educational level groups, the results are only indicative.

5.2.4.3 Opinions on the personalities of people who use English words on television within groups at different educational levels ('indifferent')

The statistical analysis of the above variable in relation to that of educational status produced meaningful information only regarding the term 'indifferent'. More specifically, it depicted an important variation in the responses of the less educated and more educated groups. In particular, the majority of group E which consists of the most educated informants selected the option 'indifferent', whilst groups A, B, C and D opted for it only by limited percentages. Hence, it can be speculated that informants who are more educated appear to be less concerned about individuals using English words or phrases on the Greek television, as they claimed that their personality does not provoke any kind of interest to them, either negative or positive, whereas it is clear that less educated groups have favoured other choices.

5.2.4.4 Opinions on whether the use of the English language on Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public within groups at different educational levels

Informants were also asked as seen earlier to express their views on the possible influence of the use of English on television upon the linguistic repertoire of the public. To that purpose they were provided with three possible options, namely 'yes to a significant degree', 'yes, but to a small degree' and 'no'. According to the results the majorities of all groups independently of their educational status claimed that English language use on television can affect the lexicon of the audience to a significant extent. However, there

were certain differentiations in the percentages of the responses between the three first and the two last groups. More specifically the two last groups, which consist of the most educated participants demonstrated higher percentages with regard to the first option and lower percentages concerning the negative option in comparison with those of groups A, B and C. In other words less educated participants who according to previously examined correlations employ English lexical items to a smaller extent than more educated informants appear more certain and confident about the purity of their language, whilst groups D and E appear more concerned about the possible influence of English language occurrence on television upon their native tongue. Nevertheless, this could be attributed to the fact that more educated participants tend to employ English items to a greater extent and thus judging by their own linguistic behaviour they express a stronger concern about the influence of English on the Greek language.

5.3 The Overarching Tendencies

The analysis of data on the basis of different groups has revealed significant information about variations in the attitudes of the participants and has indicated salient tendencies. The most common tendency was for older age participants to express a more negative attitude towards English language occurrence on television which lends strong support to the initial hypothesis of this project, whilst younger age participants responded to the phenomenon in question in a more favourable, or at least in a less unfavourable way. More specifically, looking at the responses of participants in questions 4.2.1.14, 4.2.1.15, 4.2.1.16 in Chapter 4, all of which express disapproval of English language use on television, it can be safely argued that older group participants demonstrate the same negative attitude regarding all questions. This is also evident from their responses in question 4.2.1.17 which contains a positive statement regarding the use of English lexical items on television and to which respondents belonging to older groups expressed their strong disagreement. Moreover, younger informants were found to borrow English units to a greater extent than older respondents. As discussed earlier this is strongly related to the fact that younger age informants have acquired English to a greater extent and also to the period of their upbringing when English was promoted as a global language by the state, media and

market with a great number of English loanwords being adopted, a situation which did not occur at the time of childhood and adolescence of older age informants and thus cannot be perceived by them as the 'norm'. Moreover, interestingly enough older participants despite their strict attitude appeared to be less concerned about the impact of English on the Greek language, a fact that was attributed to their faith in the importance and strong foundations of the Greek language which cannot be threatened by the numerous foreign lexical additions. Another paradox lies in the fact that younger participants although they claim to consider English loanwords a threat to the Greek language, however they are not the ones who want people to avoid using them. This could be attributed to their own linguistic habits, that is to the fact that they frequently resort to English lexical items, thus it is a behaviour that they approve or enjoy, but also a behaviour which according to them threatens the Greek language, something which may not be as important and crucial to them as it is for older informants so as to avoid it or suggest to others to do so. In addition to that, their high percentages of uncertainty demonstrate that they have not yet considered the issue to a significant extent. In terms of English language proficiency level, informants with high levels of competence were found as expected to opt for English words more frequently than less fluent participants as was indicated by their responses in questions 4.2.2.1, 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.2.3 in Chapter 4. Furthermore, proficient or skilled speakers of English demonstrated a more positive attitude towards the use of English by television and the media in general, whereas less capable speakers appeared to hold a more austere view towards code-switching and loanword use. This variation is due to language competence differences between the groups, as well as to the fact that non-fluent respondents are mostly older age participants who are thought to be more conservative to changes and more eager to preserve the pureness of the Greek language. With regard to gender categorization, women appeared to use more English lexical items than men and to be less negative towards the aforementioned phenomenon. Additionally, more educated participants claimed to resort to English words with a greater frequency and appeared more concerned about the possible influence of English presence on the Greek language. This is again related to the fact that more educated informants are more competent speakers of English and thus resort to more English lexical items. Consequently, because they tend to adopt a

number of English borrowings they are more concerned that this behaviour is or will be followed by others as well.

In terms of the possible influence of Greek by the English language, although groups were differentiated in their second favoured options, they did however demonstrate a certain consensus, as they all argued independently of their age, sex, English language proficiency level and educational status that the linguistic repertoire of the Greek public can be affected by the use of English on television to a significant degree. This agreement lends support to the belief that English language occurrence on television or the mass media cannot be seen as an isolated phenomenon, but as a reality strongly associated with the linguistic habits of an entire society.

Nevertheless, the most significant observation presented that derives from the data is the inconsistency between the attitudes of older participants regarding the presence of English in the media and their responses concerning their own use of English in everyday life. To be more specific, on the one hand, the majority of older group participants state that English language occurrence on television should be put to an end and they tend to consider that such phenomenon is driven by the vanity of speakers to promote themselves; however, they concomitantly present high percentages of frequent use in some of the provided English lexical items and high levels of preference for English borrowings when they were rendered with pairs of words representing the same notion in both languages. More specifically, a respected number of older informants claimed to use the word ‘super’ and ‘star’ on a frequent basis, whilst they also demonstrated their preference for the English terms ‘computer’, ‘laptop’ and ‘internet’ than for their Greek equivalents ‘υπολογιστής’, ‘φορητός υπολογιστής’ and ‘διαδίκτυο’ respectively. Especially in the case of the pair ‘computer/ υπολογιστής’ older informants showed even great percentages than their younger co-participants regarding the option of the English item.

It could be claimed that this inconsistency or dissonance according to Festinger (1957: 13) in the responses of fourth group participants creates issues of validity of the participants’ answers, since they follow the linguistic practices of loanwords use and code-switching as

well, although they perceive them as unfavourable and even though they were provided with a Greek alternative. This view is strongly related to the assumption that a person's attitude toward the object of evaluation determines his/her behaviour or in this case intention toward the given object. Nevertheless, as stated earlier one's attitude toward an object, notion, institution or person could be associated to the totality of his behaviours, but not necessarily to a single behaviour (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975: 335). That is, fourth group informants' responses toward the use of English represent their attitude in total toward the aforementioned phenomenon and not their attitude in a particular situation (such as the use of the word 'star'). Additionally, one could not claim that people who generally oppose a certain linguistic behaviour will never adopt it, as this is strongly associated to the topic of the interaction, the setting and the participants. Moreover, as LaPiere argues a person's response to a question has symbolic value and does not necessarily represents the informant's action in real life (LaPiere 1967: 26). Hence, older participants attitudes towards English language use have symbolic value and should not necessarily correlate with their actual behaviour. Even Campbell's (1963) pseudo-inconsistency theory cannot apply in this case as the use of English by participants and their negative view of English occurrence on television cannot be seen as two different indicators of the same attitude, unless it is argued that informants hold different attitudes concerning other people's behaviour (i.e TV presenters) and other attitudes regarding their own. If this idea could be verified then that would be described as an 'inappropriate' behaviour for statistical purposes and it would create actual issues of invalidity.

Despite this inconsistency, it cannot be claimed that the information revealed by the analysis of the data is ineffective simply because it does not relate to other responses. Older participants' attitudes toward the use of English on television and in general may not necessarily relate to their behaviours or behavioural intentions, but they still reveal important findings for the reasons of this contradiction. And their responses to the question: 'Do you believe that the use of the English language on Greek TV programmes can influence the lexicon of the public?' contribute to the argumentation, since they stated in their vast majority that English occurrence on television can affect the linguistic repertoire of the public to a significant degree. Hence, it can be assumed that their use of

English is a result of the omnipresence of English in the Greek society. They prefer English loanwords related to technological advancements because they have familiarized themselves with these terms through their constant use by the media and the market world (Oikonomidis 2003: 56-57) and they employ English borrowings such as ‘super’ and ‘star’ on a frequent basis because of the extent to which these words are used in everyday life. Moreover, the fact that these particular lexical items were selected for this study in terms of their frequency of appearance in Greek magazines should be not neglected. Therefore, before attributing characteristics to older participants about their austere attitude toward phenomena that they practice as well, the true reasons for this inconsistency between beliefs and intentions should be investigated. When a phenomenon does not occur in isolation but is repeated as stated by the responses of all participants to the question: ‘Do you believe that Greek television personalities use:...?’, then its impact is irrefutable. The extent to which it affects someone varies according to the subject’s personal past experiences, but it cannot but be viewed as a reality. Finally, it should be mentioned that all the diverse conclusions that were drawn through this project could be quite useful if compared to existing studies or to future projects.

5.4 Comparison to Similar Studies

As mentioned in the literature review in Chapter 2, similar studies to the present have been conducted around the world as the globalization of the English language not only affected the Greek society, but the majority of western or westernized societies. One study that clearly depicted this influence in the attitudes of the public was the project conducted by Preisler (2005) which aimed at examining the attitudes of the Danish public towards English presence in the Danish society and mostly in the Danish education. Although the present study does not share the exact similar questions with that of Preisler, however some useful conclusions can be drawn from the examination of the attitudes of the Greek public. Nevertheless, before attempting that, it is imperative to point out the difference between the two studies. Preisler study focuses on the presence of English in the Danish education (at school but mostly at a university level) whilst the current project mostly examines the use of English in the mass media and more specifically on television.

Preisler's sample generally demonstrated a positive attitude towards the omnipresence of English with the majority of participants describing it as an expected consequence of an internationalization effort, as useful because it will lead to the improvement of Danes' English language abilities and as an important contribution to the expansion of people's cultural horizons. On the other hand, only a limited number of participants claimed that English language use in Denmark is a threat to the Danish language or culture. Furthermore, Preisler states that those who are more concerned about the potential influence of English on Danish are in most of the cases people representing the educational or cultural elite of the Danish society (2005: 241). More specifically, the average informant regarded the use of English in texts which targeted the Danish public, such as commercial, advertisements as 'indifferent' or 'exciting' whilst participants with a postgraduate education found them 'affected' rather than 'exciting'. Additionally, when asked to describe what the use of English in Denmark reflects, the majority of participants with postgraduate education claimed that it reflected 'the influence from the USA' whereas the majority of the average Dane argued that it reflected 'the need for a world language' (2005: 241). Preisler attributed this less positive attitude of the more educated informants to the time they sacrificed and the effort they made to master the Danish language in order to develop their professional careers, thus they do not perceive English as a threat to the Danish language but as a threat to their professional existence and development (2005: 242). However, the logical counterargument to Preisler's claims is that people who are highly educated are more likely to have acquired English to a better extent and consequently they would have far better opportunities than those who are graduates of secondary education.

The basic difference between the attitudes of Danes and Greeks lies in the fact that Danes view English as a highly prestigious language and argue in favour of English playing a more dynamic role in Danish education not only as far as English language teaching as a foreign language is concerned, but also regarding the implementation of English as the medium for the conduction of other classes. As seen earlier, the majority of the Danes participants claimed that the presence of English will act in a positive way since it will improve their English language abilities and broaden their horizons. On the other hand,

Greek participants although they consider the use of English on television to be a common phenomenon, however they demonstrated their dislike towards such linguistic choices and claimed that they should be reduced or stopped. Moreover, regarding the differences pointed out by Preisler between the average Dane and Danes with postgraduate education, the present project's data demonstrated that more educated participants are more likely to employ English items, but they are also more concerned about the future of the Greek language with the latter appearing as a tendency in Preisler's study as well. Nevertheless, Preisler attributed this greater concern to the fear of losing their professional identity after having mastered their native language, whilst the author considers it a result of their own linguistic practices. In other words, they are more likely to observe the influence of the use of English on their mother tongue and the potential threat it poses than those who employ English loanwords rarely or never. However, it should be stated that Preisler does not mention in his paper whether more educated informants use English to a greater extent, but it is speculated that people attending a university level education have received more opportunities of acquiring the English language.

Turning now to another study presented earlier in this paper, namely Koscielecki's project (2006) on 'Japanised' English, it is clear that if the attitudes of the two societies, Japanese and Greek respectively, are compared, Japanese informants appear to view in a more favourable way the phenomenon of English loanword use. In particular, although a number of Japanese linguists and academics refer to these linguistic practices as 'linguistic pollution', nevertheless half of the respondents consider the integration of English words beneficial for the creation of new images, whilst 33% argue that English loanwords express subtle semantic differences which could not be otherwise conveyed in Japanese (Koscielecki 2006:28). On the contrary, only a limited number of Greek participants argued that English lexical units are employed due to inability of Greek terms to fully describe certain notions whilst the majority of informants have proposed that the phenomena of English language use as expressed in public through the media should be reduced. Hence, the Japanese society like the Danish is more open to lexical intrusion and linguistic mixing as it perceives the contact with a global language as English to be enriching rather than threatening. Of course it is essential to state that Koscielecki's study

examines loanwords that have been morphologically integrated into the recipient language (words formatted by the use of prefixes and suffixes in Japanese), whereas the present project focuses on borrowed items that have not undergone any major structural alterations apart from phonological ones which are imperative due to the different phonological systems of the two languages.

Additionally, if we wish to locate parallels between the study of Tsiplakou and the present one, it is essential to stress that the results of the two studies are not directly comparable as the first examines code-switching instances in email communication in Cyprus, whilst the latter investigates English language use in the form of loanword use and code-switching occurrences on Greek television together with the attitudes of the public. Nonetheless, Tsiplakou's study provides ample evidence that the use of English is not a phenomenon which solely occurs on television, but a linguistic habit that gains popularity every day. It is also noteworthy that Greek television stations broadcast in Cyprus as well, through satellite networks and thus the Greek-Cypriot public is also subject to influence through the particular medium and concomitantly through all others that are available on a regional basis. According to the data provided by Tsiplakou, 39.7% of those who code-switch always or frequently and 35.7% of those who do so rarely or occasionally consider English language use an index of English imperialism and a threat to the Greek language (Tsiplakou 2009: 373). In a similar vein, Greek participants were asked whether they believe that people should stop using English words before it is too late. Twenty-nine percent of the first age group, 33% of the second group, 35% of the third group and 45% of the last group agreed with or without reservations with this statement. Hence, it can be argued that the two samples express their concern to an equal extent about the negative consequence of the incorporation of English into the Greek lexicon.

Finally, with regard to the study of Finnis et al. (2005), although it refers to a fully bilingual community in sense of everyday language use, however its findings concerning the attitudes of Greek-Cypriot towards the use of English and code-switching may share certain similarities to the current project and thus a comparison is imperative. According to the results of the aforementioned study, older age informants tend to agree that English

language use poses a threat to the maintenance of Modern Greek and Greek-Cypriot, whilst younger groups were found not to consider English a potential cause for the loss of their cultural identity (2005: 75-76). On the contrary, the present project revealed that older participants are more certain about the vitality of their language and that even though they believe that the use of English by the Greek media affects the Greek language to a significant extent, they tend not to consider English a threat to it. Moreover, in relation to the 'education' factor, Finnis et al.'s study demonstrated that more educated informants perceived more unfavourably the phenomenon of code-switching within the Greek-Cypriot community of London (2005: 88). However, although in the present study there are no similar data that could serve a comparison between the two studies, what should be mentioned is that more educated participants appeared less concerned about the potential influence of the public's linguistic repertoire by English language occurrence on television programmes than less educated informants. Hence, the two studies produce incongruent results mainly due to the fact that their samples do not share the same characteristics. Finnis et al.'s subjects are Greek-Cypriot immigrants in the United Kingdom who use both English and Greek on an everyday basis for different functions and in different situations (i.e. interactions at work, interactions at home, education), whilst this project's subjects are Greeks living in mainland Greece who use Greek for their everyday interactions and who only employ English loanwords as a results of English's omnipresence in the Greek media, marketplace, business world etc. In other words, the first sample faces greater risks with regard to the loss of its cultural identity and language since it is integrated in a society where it is a minority, thus its concerns about maintaining Greek language or the Greek-Cypriot dialect are strong. On the other hand, our informants deal with a situation of linguistic imperialism which has provoked certain alterations to the Greek language, but which is miles away from posing an actual threat to its structure and its core.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, the basic features of the recorded instances have been discussed and the main tendencies in the analysis of the questionnaire results have been presented. A number of different but always related studies have been examined in order to observe any common

characteristics or significant differences that would promote future research and add to the existing literature. The conclusions drawn by these comparisons as well as by the examination of the main tendencies in the present project's data, have contributed significantly to the purpose of this study; in other words, to fill in a gap in the existing literature by providing information on a sample not yet covered by research both in terms of nationality and type of bilingualism and by combining two types of data collection that would verify the aforementioned phenomena in action and would present the public's attitudes towards them.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis aimed to add to the existing literature on the subjects of loanword use and code-switching by presenting their practice in a not fully bilingual environment, but in a community where only the native tongue holds a formal status and where the majority of its members are native speakers of that specific language, in this case, Greek. In order to achieve this purpose, research was conducted in a twofold manner, that is by combining language data and attitude analysis; it can be argued that this twofold study could function as a useful framework for future projects which can develop and improve it. More specifically, in the present project firstly code-switching utterances and instances of loanword use were recorded as appeared on the most viewed programmes of Greek television, so as to confirm the existence of these language contact phenomena and secondly, the attitudes of the public towards such linguistic behaviour were elicited through the distribution and collection of 400 questionnaires. Questions as seen earlier involved both the participants' own frequency of use of English words or phrases, as well as their views on whether the use of English on television and by the mass media could possibly influence or threaten the Greek language. The main aim of the questionnaire was to trace and investigate any variations in the responses of different age groups, different gender groups, groups of different education levels and groups at different levels of English proficiency.

After the data of both analyses have been presented, examined and discussed, it can be argued that the study achieved its basic aim, that is to enrich the literature with data taken from a different type of bilingual community which can be used as a comparison to future research. The most significant results of the sociolinguistic analysis of data revealed that in the majority of cases, loanwords or code-switching are used without being followed by the translation of the foreign lexical item into Greek. Regarding the instances followed by translation, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (2006) was employed in order to explain the reasons that lead speakers to interpret the English word(s) into Greek. The categorization employed was that of Makri-Tsilipakou (1999) as most recorded instances shared common elements to the proposed categories, even though new types were also

created as other characteristics were dominant in some utterances. The introduction of these new categories could contribute to future studies as they expand and develop the existing framework. Additionally, future research in other languages could help to the evaluation of this categorization and to the observation of similarities and differences between different speaking communities. What should be argued is that this study did not only add to the existing categorization, but related the use of English words by television personalities to the attitudes of the public, thus creating a twofold model of research. Nevertheless, the project would have led to more valuable conclusions if participants were asked to comment on a number of specific utterances taken from the recorded data. This could also be part of future research which will investigate the relation between recorded utterances and the direct attitudes of the audience. Furthermore, all the recorded data could be used in studies examining media language, issues of politeness and translation.

Moreover, another important goal was achieved through the present study, namely a contribution to the distinction between code-switching and loanwords or borrowings. As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 5, most linguists have based the distinction between the two phenomena on frequency of use, level of integration of the foreign word into the recipient language or on the degree of disruption caused to the syntactical structure of the sentence by the foreign item. What this project proposes is that borrowings, especially those which singly occur, should be differentiated to code-switching instances on the basis of the settings in which they occur, the purposes they serve and the reasons for which they are used. That is to say, borrowings are mostly used in monolingual societies irrespectively of the speaker's level of proficiency in order for the speakers to be more precise, to promote their linguistic abilities, to fill in the gap caused by the lack of a native equivalent word or because the foreign word is associated to a specific sector or domain. On the other hand, code-switching commonly occurs in bilingual societies where speakers switch from one language to the other according to the topic of the interaction, their interlocutors and the setting of the conversation. This is why research on code-switching has been widely conducted in fully bilingual countries, or on immigrants who need to express themselves in both languages for different purposes. Another important factor is that loanword use does not require any specific language skills by the speaker, but solely that s/he understands the

meaning of the foreign word, even though some speakers may use a foreign item without being certain about its meaning as seen in certain recorded instances presented in Chapter 3. On the other hand, code-switching is strongly associated with language fluency in most of its forms (inter-sentential, intra-sentential) as Romaine has pointed out (1995: 123). Thus, taking into account the limited number of studies focusing on loanwords, but not established borrowings on linguistic communities similar to Greece (primarily monolingual in other words) in relation to the vast research conducted on fully bilingual communities, it can be stated that this research has significantly added to the existing literature on loanword use as well as to the distinction between the phenomena of loanword use and code-switching through the presentation of its recorded examples and their categorization.

Turning now to the analysis of the questionnaires, the most dominant tendencies revealed that older age participants express more conservative or negative views towards the use of English words or phrases on television or by the mass media in general, but are more confident that their native tongue will not be affected by the 'intruder' to such a degree that it could be threatened. Additionally, the results indicated that although most informants independently of their age propose that loanword use and code-switching on television should be reduced or stopped, however, they demonstrate the very same linguistic behaviour in their own lives by favouring some English words to their Greek equivalents. Similarly, the majority of participants irrespectively of their age, sex, educational level and level of English language acquisition claim that the linguistic repertoire of the public can be influenced by the use of English words and phrases on television. This belief lends support to the reasons that led to this project, as it shows that English language use on television, or any other of the media, is important and should not be viewed in isolation, but only in relation to the effects it has on the linguistic habits of the public. Thus, the examination of recorded utterances was essential not only to provide ample evidence for the existence of the phenomenon, but also to demonstrate how loanwords gain popularity. Moreover, comparisons to studies on different languages showed that Greeks are less open-minded towards the use of English and believe that such phenomena should be limited. It is essential to note that in the very same way, the present study could contribute to the

examination of different attitudes in diverse European countries towards English globalization, as future projects could locate parallels or not to these results.

When a project is seen in retrospect, there are certain issues mostly regarding its methodology that could have been dealt differently. As far as the present project is concerned these issues are related to the questions selected for the questionnaire that was distributed to the public. Although a pilot questionnaire was designed, distributed and revised, some problems arose with regard to the comprehension of certain questions by the informants. One of them included the following statement: 'The use of English by television can alter the Greek language to a great extent but it can never threaten it'. The wording of the above statement confused respondents and thus a more straightforward choice of words should have been made. Moreover, even though the questionnaire was designed not to be lengthy, so as not to tire or bore the informants, a few more questions could have been added, such as 'why should loanword use on television be reduced?', 'why cannot the Greek language be threatened by the use of English in the media?' or 'why is the Greek language threatened by the use of English?'. Of course all these questions arise from the analysis of the present project's results, but they could have been initially included in the questionnaire as they would have added to the analysis and reinforced or not the conclusions drawn by it.

Additionally, although this project aimed to produce statistically significant results, however, in certain cases this was not possible due to the limited number of participants representing some of its groups, more specifically those of educational status and level of English language proficiency. These low numbers limited the statistical value of the findings and thus it can be stated that in future research, an equal number of subjects should be obtained if possible, not only in one or two groups, as in the case of this study (age and gender), but also regarding all other participants' qualities which can generate meaningful results and lead to important conclusions.

In terms of future research, although this project used a significant number of data in both cases, so as to be statistically meaningful, future studies could include a larger number of

participants, as well as code-switching and loanword use examples from other types of media, such as the radio or newspapers and magazines, with the main point of research being the difference between the spontaneous speech of radio shows and the proof-read and edited articles of newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, future efforts could also focus on the examination of the public's attitudes on one by one utterance out of a recorded sample in order to investigate the specific reasons that lead to code-switching and loanword use through the eyes of the average Greek. In any case, it is true that a research is never complete unless it generates new questions, ideas and theories.

Finally, it should be stated that this study attempted to shed light to the phenomena of code-switching and English loanword use as expressed in the Greek society through the medium of television. Moreover, it presented the attitudes of the Greek public towards this linguistic behaviour, as well as their own linguistic habits in terms of English language use. Although, the present study fills in an important gap in the field of linguistic as it investigates English language use in a primarily monolingual community, further research should be conducted so as to verify these results or relate them to those of different linguistic communities.

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